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BY

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TOLUME XXIII

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VOLTAIRE

ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE

LOUIS OF BAVARIA, 1315
TO
FERDINAND II, 1631

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II

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ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE

FROM THE TIME OF

CHARLEMAGNE.

LOUIS V. OR LOUIS OF BAVARIA.

THIRTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1315 — Louis of Bavaria is reckoned emperor, because he was elected by the majority; but chiefly, because his rival, Frederick the Fine, was unfortunate.

Frederick is consecrated at Cologne by the archbishop of that place, and Louis at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the archbishop of Mentz, who arrogates that privilege to himself, although the archbishop of Cologne is metropolitan of Aix.

These two consecrated competitors necessarily produce civil wars, and this is the more so because Louis of Bavaria was uncle to his rival, Frederick. Some of the Swiss cantons already confederated take arms in favor of Louis of Bavaria, and by these means defend their liberty against the house of Austria.

If the Swiss had possessed the eloquence, as they did the courage, of the Athenians, at the memorable

battle of Morgarten, this day would have been as famous as that of Thermopylæ. Sixteen hundred Swiss, from the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, defeat a formidable army belonging to the duke of Austria, at the passage of the mountains. The field of the battle of Morgarten is the true cradle of their liberty.

1316 — Pope John XXII., residing at Avignon and Lyons, like his two predecessors, though he dares not set foot in Italy, but was obliged to abandon Rome, nevertheless declares that the empire depends on the Roman Church, and summons the two pretenders to his tribunal. There had been greater revolutions on the face of the earth, but none more singular in the mind of man, than to see the successors of the Cæsars, who were created on the banks of the Main, submit the rights which they had not over Rome to a pontiff of Rome created at Avignon. While the kings of Germany pretend to have the right of bestowing the kingdoms of Europe, the popes pretend to nominate emperors and kings, and the Roman people reject both emperor and pope.

1317 — We must imagine that Italy was now as much divided as Germany. It was still torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibellines. The Guelphs, with Robert, king of Naples, at their head, adhere to Frederick of Austria ; the Ghibellines were on the side of Louis. The chiefs of this faction are the Viscontis of Milan. This house established its own power under the pretext of maintaining that of the

emperors. France already intermeddled, though feebly, in the affairs of the Milanese.

1318 — War between Eric, king of Denmark, and Waldemar, margrave of Brandenburg, who alone supports the war, unaided by any prince of the empire. When a weak state holds out against a stronger, we may be assured it is governed by a superior man.

In the course of this short quarrel, which was soon accommodated, the duke of Lauenburg is made prisoner by the margrave, and redeems himself for sixteen thousand marks of silver. From these ransoms we may nearly guess the quantity of specie which then circulated in those countries, when the princes had everything and the people almost nothing.

1319 — The two emperors consent to decide their most important quarrel by thirty champions. An old custom, which chivalry has sometimes renewed.

This combat of fifteen against fifteen, fighting man to man, was like that of the Greek and Trojan heroes. It decided nothing, and was only a prelude to the battle which was fought by the two armies after they had been spectators of the combat of thirty. Louis is conqueror in this battle, but his victory is not decisive.

1320-21 — Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip the Fair, king of France, accepts of Pope John XXII. the quality of lieutenant-general of the Church against the Ghibellines in Italy. Philip of Valois goes thither in hope of establishing some party

among so many divisions. The Viscontis find means to make him repass the Alps, by sometimes famishing his little army, and sometimes having recourse to negotiations.

Italy continues divided between Guelphs and Ghibellines, without engaging heartily either for Frederick of Austria or Louis of Bavaria.

1322 — Another battle, which proved decisive, is fought between the two emperors near Mühldorf, September 28, 1332. The duke of Austria is taken, together with his brother Henry, and Ferri, duke of Lorraine. From that day there was but one emperor.

Leopold of Austria, brother of the two prisoners, in vain continues the war.

John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, tired of the contradictions he daily underwent in his own country, sends his son to be educated in France, at the court of King Charles the Fair. He exchanges his crown with the emperor for the palatinate of the Rhine. The circumstance seems incredible. The possessor of the palatinate of the Rhine was Rudolph of Bavaria, the emperor's own brother. This Rudolph had embraced the party of Frederick of Austria against his brother, and the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, who had made himself master of the palatinate, gains Bohemia by the bargain.

It is not in every country that men may be bought and sold like cattle. The whole noblesse of Bohemia rise as one man against this agreement, which they declare void and injurious, and accordingly it was

of no effect; but Rudolph was left deprived of his palatinate.

1323 — An event still more extraordinary happens in Brandenburg. The margrave of that country, descended from the ancient house of Ascania, quits his margraviate to go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving his dominions to his brother, who dies in four-and-twenty days after the pilgrim's departure. There were a number of relatives capable of succeeding. The ancient house of Saxe-Lauenburg, and that of Anhalt, had pretensions. The emperor, in order to make all the competitors agree, and without waiting for news of the true possessor's pilgrimage, resolved to appropriate to his own family the dominions of Brandenburg, with which he accordingly invests his own son, Louis.

The emperor takes for his second wife the daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland, who brings him by way of dower these two provinces, together with Zealand and Friesland. No state near the Low Countries was looked upon as a masculine fief. The emperors did not forget their own houses while they provided for the good of the empire.

The emperor, having vanquished his competitor, has the pope still to conquer. John XXII., from the banks of the Rhone, did not fail to influence a great part of Italy, and animate the faction of the Guelphs against the Ghibellines. He declares the Viscontis heretics, and as the emperor favors the Viscontis,

declares the emperor a favorer of heretics; nay, by a bull dated October 9, he orders Louis of Bavaria to resign in three months the administration of the empire, "for having assumed the title of King of the Romans without waiting until the pope had examined his election." The emperor contents himself with protesting against this bull. As yet he could do no better.

1324 — Louis of Bavaria supports the remainder of the war against the house of Austria while he is attacked by the pope.

John XXII., by a new bull dated July 15, declares the emperor contumacious, and deprives him of all right to the empire, if he does not appear before his holiness by the first of October. Louis of Bavaria publishes a rescript, inviting the Church to depose the pope, and appeals to a future council.

Marcilius of Padua and John of Ghent, a Franciscan, come and offer their pens to the emperor against the pope, pretending to prove the holy father a heretic. He actually had very singular opinions, which he was obliged to retract.

1325 — When we thus see the popes, who are not possessed even of one town, talk dictatorially to emperors, we may easily guess that their sole aim is to take the advantage of popular prejudice and the interests of princes. The house of Austria had still a party in Germany, although the head of it was in prison; and it is only at the head of a party that a bull can be dangerous.

Alsace, for example, and the county of Messina, held for that house. The emperor made an alliance with his prisoner, the duke of Lorraine, the archbishop of Trier, and the count de Bar, in order to take Metz. The city was actually taken, and paid about forty thousand livres tournois to its conquerors.

Frederick of Austria, being still in prison, the pope resolves to give the empire to Charles the Fair, king of France. It would have been natural for a pope to name an emperor in Italy. It was thus they proceeded with regard to Charlemagne; but long custom prevailed, and it was necessary that Germany should make the election. Some German princes are gained over to the interest of the king of France, who were to meet him at Bar-sur-Aube. The king of France goes thither and finds nobody but Leopold of Austria.

The king of France goes home again, very much chagrined at his own misconduct. Leopold of Austria, finding himself without resource, sends the lance, sword, and crown of Charlemagne to Louis of Bavaria. Public opinion still attached to these symbols a certain right which confirmed that of election.

Louis of Bavaria at length releases his prisoner, and makes him sign a renunciation of the empire for the life of Louis. It is pretended that Frederick of Austria still preserved the title of King of the Romans.

1326 — Leopold of Austria dies. It must be

observed that, in spite of the laws, the constant custom was that the great fiefs should still be divided among the heirs. Thirty children would have divided the same estate into thirty parts, and all have borne the same title. All the male descendants of Rudolph of Hapsburg bore the names of dukes of Austria.

Leopold had enjoyed for his share Alsace, Switzerland, Suabia, and the Breisgau. His brothers disputed this inheritance with one another; and at length chose John of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, for *austrègue* or arbiter.

1327 — At length Louis of Bavaria goes to Italy, in order to head the Ghibellines, and the pope from afar animates the Guelphs against him. The old quarrel between the empire and papacy is renewed with great fury.

Louis marches at the head of a small army to Milan, and is accompanied by a crowd of Franciscan friars. These monks were excommunicated by Pope John XXII. for having maintained that their cowl ought to be more pointed, and that their victuals and drink did not peculiarly belong to them.

The same Franciscans treated the pope as a damned heretic, for his opinion touching the beatific vision.

The emperor is crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, not by the archbishop, who refuses to perform the ceremony, but by the bishop of Arezzo.

As soon as that prince prepares for going to

Rome the faction of the Guelphs press the pope to return to that city. But his holiness dares not go thither, so much is he afraid of the Ghibelline party and the emperor.

The Pisans offer the emperor sixty thousand livres, provided he will not pass through their city in his march to Rome. Louis of Bavaria besieges Pisa, and at the end of three days compels them to give him an addition of thirty thousand livres, to stay there no longer than two months. Historians say they were livres of gold, but in that case the whole would have been equal to six millions of German crowns, a sum more easily produced in writing than in actual payment.

A new bull is published by John XXII., dated at Avignon, October 23: "We reprobate the said Louis as a heretic. We strip the said Louis of all his estate, movable and immovable, of the palatinate of the Rhine, and of all right to the empire; and we forbid all persons whatever to supply the said Louis with corn, linen, wine, wood, etc."

The emperor's heresy consisted in his going to Rome.

1328 — Louis of Bavaria is crowned in Rome, without taking the oath of fidelity. The famous Castruccio-Castracani, tyrant of Lucca, at first created by the emperor count of the palace of the Lateran and governor of Rome, conducts him to St. Peter's with the four chief Roman barons, Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, and Conti.

Louis is consecrated by a bishop of Venice, assisted by a bishop of Aleria, both excommunicated by the pope. There was little disturbance in Rome at this coronation.

April 18 the emperor holds a general assembly, where he presides, clothed with the imperial mantle, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand. One Nicholas Fabriano, an Augustine monk, there accuses the pope, and asks "if any one present has a mind to defend the priest of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John." The order of Augustines was doomed to produce one day a man much more dangerous to the popes, namely, Martin Luther.

Then the sentence was read, by which the emperor deposes the pope. "We will," says he, "follow the example of Otho I., who, with the clergy and people of Rome, deposed Pope John XII. We depose from the see of Rome James of Cahors, convicted of heresy and treason," etc.

Young Colonna, secretly attached to the pope, publishes his opposition in Rome by fixing it to the church door, and betakes himself to flight.

At length Louis pronounces sentence of death on the pope, and even on the king of Naples, who had accepted of the pope the vicariate of the empire in Italy. He condemns both to be burned alive. Extravagant resentment often becomes ridiculous. May 22 he, by his own authority, elevates to the papal chair Peter Reinalucci, of the town of Corbiere, of Corbarie, a Dominican, and makes the

Roman people agree to his exaltation. Instead of kissing his feet, he invests him by the ring, and causes himself to be crowned again by this new pontiff.

That which happens to all emperors since the Othos, happened to Louis of Bavaria. The Romans conspire against him. The king of Naples arrives with troops at the gates of Rome. The emperor and his pope are obliged to fly with precipitation.

1329 — The emperor takes shelter in Pisa, which, however, he is obliged to quit. He returns without an army to Bavaria, accompanied by two Franciscans, called Michael of Cesena and William of Ockham, who wrote against the pope. The antipope, Peter of Corbiere, skulks from town to town.

Robert, king of Naples, reduces Rome and several cities of Italy under the domination, or rather the protection, of the pope.

The Viscontis who are still powerful in Milan, abandon the emperor, who can no longer protect them, and espouse the party of John XXII., who, though still a refugee at Avignon, seems to give laws to Europe, and actually gives them, when these laws are executed by the strong against the weak.

Louis of Bavaria, while in Pavia, makes a memorable treaty with his nephew Robert, son of Rudolph, elector palatine, who died an exile in England, and from whom the whole palatine branch is descended. By this treaty he divides with his nephew the lands of the palatine house; he restores to him the palatin-

ate of the Rhine and the high palatinate, and keeps Bavaria for himself. He stipulates that after the extinction of one of the houses of Palatine and Bavaria, which come from the same common stock, the survivor shall enter into possession of all the lands and dignities of the other; and in the meantime the vote in the election of emperors shall belong alternately to the two houses. The right of voting, thus granted to the house of Bavaria, was not of long duration; but the quarrel occasioned by this agreement between the two houses was of longer continuance.

1330 — Pope Peter of Corbiere, concealed in a castle of Italy, and surrounded by soldiers sent thither by the archbishop of Pisa, begs pardon of John XXII., who promises to spare his life, and give him a pension of three thousand florins of gold for his subsistence.

This pope, Friar Peter, goes, with a rope about his neck, and presents himself before the pope, who sends him to prison, where he dies in less than three years. It is not known whether or not he had stipulated that he should not be imprisoned.

Christopher, king of Denmark, is deposed by the states of the country, and has recourse to the empire. The dukes of Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania are appointed by the emperor to try and decide this cause between that prince and his subjects.

This was a revival of the emperor's right over Denmark, which had been extinct. But Gerard,

count of Holstein, regent of the kingdom, would not acknowledge the commission. King Christopher, with the forces of those princes and the assistance of the margrave of Brandenburg, expels the regent and re-ascends the throne.

Louis of Bavaria wants to be reconciled to the pope, and sends an embassy to him for that purpose. John XXII., by way of answer, commands the king of Bohemia to dethrone the emperor.

1331 — John, king of Bohemia, instead of obeying the pope, joins the emperor, and marches to Italy with an army, as vicar of the empire. Having reduced Cremona, Parma, Pavia, and Modena, he is tempted to keep them for himself, and with this view unites himself privately with the pope. The Guelphs and Ghibellines, alarmed at this union, join against John XXII. and John, king of Bohemia.

The emperor, dreading such a dangerous vicar, excites against him Otho of Austria, brother of that very Frederick who was his rival for the empire; so much are interests varied in a little time.

He instigates the marquis of Meissen and Charles Robert, king of Hungary, and even Poland itself. A plain proof that he could then do very little of himself. The empire was seldom weaker than at this very period. But Germany, in the midst of all these troubles, is still respected by strangers, and still uninvaded.

The king of Bohemia, on his return to Germany, defeats all his enemies, one after another. He leaves

his son Charles vicar in Italy, in spite of Louis of Bavaria, and he himself marches into Poland. John, king of Bohemia, was then the real emperor, by means of his power.

The Guelphs and Ghibellines, notwithstanding their mutual antipathy, join in Italy against Prince Charles of Bohemia. The king, his father, being victor in Germany, passes the Alps to support his son. He arrives just when that prince had obtained a signal victory near Tyrol, November 25.

He re-enters Prague in triumph with his son, and gives him the march, or marquisate, or margraviate of Moravia, for which he exacts liege homage.

1332 — The pope continues to employ religion for the success of his intrigues. Otho, duke of Austria, gained over by him, quits the emperor's party, and being cajoled by the monks, submits his dominions to the holy see, declaring himself a vassal of Rome. What a conjuncture was this, when such an action was neither punished nor abhorred!

This was indeed a time of anarchy. The king of Bohemia renders himself formidable to the emperor, and endeavors to establish his credit in Germany. He and his son had obtained victories in Italy, but they were not at all decisive. All Italy was in arms. Ghibellines against Guelphs, and both against the Germans; all the towns agreed in their hatred to Germany, and all of them made war on one another, instead of uniting to break their chains forever.

During these troubles, the Teutonic order con-

tinues still a body of conquerors towards Russia. The Poles take some of their towns; and John, king of Bohemia, marches to their assistance. He penetrates as far as Cracow. He appeases the trouble in Silesia. At that time he made all Europe tremble, being master of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia.

Strasburg, Freiburg in Briesgau, and Basel, unite in these troublesome times against the neighboring tyrants; and several other towns join in the association. The neighborhood of four Swiss cantons become free inspires those people with sentiments of liberty.

Otho of Austria besieges Colmar, which is supported against him by the emperor. The count of Würtemberg and the king of Bohemia furnish the emperor with troops. We see on both sides an army of thirty thousand men, but this for one campaign only. The emperor was then no more than any other prince of Germany, who uses his friends against his enemies. What would have been the case, if the whole had united in order to subdue all Italy in an effectual manner?

But Germany is engrossed by nothing but internal quarrels. The duke of Austria reconciles himself to the emperor. The face of affairs continually changes, and the misery of the people continues.

1333 — We have seen John, king of Bohemia, fighting for the emperor; now behold him in arms for the pope. We have seen Robert, king of Naples, the pope's defender; now he is his enemy. The

same king of Bohemia who had besieged Cracow, goes to Italy, in concert with the king of France, to establish the pope's power in that country. Thus men are led about by ambition.

What is the consequence? He gives battle, near Ferrara, to Robert, king of Naples, united with the Viscontis and the Scalas, princes of Verona. He is twice defeated, and returns to Germany, after having lost his troops, his money, and his reputation.

Troubles and wars in Brabant, on account of the property of Mechlin, which the duke of Brabant and the count of Flanders dispute with each other. The king of Bohemia intermeddles again. A compromise is effected, and Mechlin remains with the count of Flanders.

1334 — Meanwhile the emperor Louis of Bavaria lives quietly at Munich, and seems to meddle no more with any affairs whatsoever.

Pope John XXII., being more restless, still solicits the German princes to rise against Louis of Bavaria: and the Franciscans, who sided with Michael de Cesena, being condemned by the pope, press the emperor to assemble a council to declare the pope a heretic, and depose him accordingly.

The emperor is more speedily revenged by death than by a council. John XXII. dies at Avignon, December 2, in the ninetieth year of his age.

Villani pretends that in his treasury was found the value of five and twenty millions of gold florins,

eighteen millions of which was in specie. "I know it," says Villani, "from my brother Romona, who was the pope's banker." We may boldly answer Villani, that his brother was a great exaggerator. That sum would have been equal to about two hundred millions of German crowns of these days. At that time such a sum would have purchased all Italy, and yet John XXII. never set foot in that country. In vain did he add a third crown to the pontifical tiara; he was not the more powerful on that account. True it is, he sold a great number of benefices; he invented annats, reserves, and reversions, and set a price on dispensations and absolutions. All these expedients are much more ineffectual than one would imagine, and produce a great deal more scandal than money; the exactors of such tributes generally pay but a very small share to their employers.

One thing worthy of observation is that he had some scruples on his death-bed about the manner in which he had affirmed God to be seen in heaven: but he had none about the treasures he had amassed on earth.

1335 — Old King John of Luxemburg marries a young princess of the house of France, and Bourbon branch, and by the contract of marriage settles the duchy of Luxemburg on the son of the marriage. Almost all the clauses of contracts are so many seeds of war.

Here is another marriage which produces a war, almost as soon as it is consummated. The old king

of Bohemia had a second son, called John of Luxemburg, duke of Carinthia. The young prince took the title of duke of Carinthia, because his wife had pretensions to that duchy. That princess of Carinthia, called Margaret Great Mouth, pretends that her husband, John of Luxemburg, is impotent. She finds a bishop of Freising who dissolves the marriage without formalities, and she gives herself in marriage to the marquis of Brandenburg.

Interest has as great a share as love in this adultery. The margrave of Brandenburg was son of the emperor Louis of Bavaria. Margaret Great Mouth brought him Tyrol by way of dower, together with her claim on Carinthia: thus the emperor made no difficulty of taking this lady from the prince of Bohemia, and giving her to his son of Brandenburg. This marriage excites a war that lasts a whole year, and after abundance of bloodshed the parties come to a very singular agreement—namely, that young John of Luxemburg shall confess his wife had reason to forsake him, and approve of her marriage with the emperor's son of Brandenburg. A petty war waged by the Strasburgers against the gentlemen of the neighborhood. Strasburg acts as a real independent republic, except that the bishop frequently put himself at the head of troops in order to make the citizens dependent on the see.

1336-37 — Many negotiations are begun in Germany, for the famous war which Edward III., king of England, meditated against Philip de Valois,

The business was to know who should be possessed of France.

True it is, that country, much more confined than it is at present, weakened by the divisions of the feudal government, and without any considerable maritime trade, was not the greatest theatre of Europe, though always an object of great importance.

Philip de Valois on one side, and Edward on the other, endeavor to engage the German princes in their quarrel; but the Englishman seems to have played his part better than the Frenchman. Philip de Valois has the king of Bohemia for his ally; and Edward has all the princes that border on France. In particular he has the emperor on his side; though indeed he got nothing from him, except letters patent, but these create him vicar of the empire. The proud Edward willingly consents to exercise that vicariate in hope of seeing the war against France declared the war of the empire. His commission declares that he may coin money in all the territories of the empire; nothing more evidently proves that secret respect which all Europe had for the imperial dignity.

While Edward strengthens himself with the temporal forces of Germany, Philip de Valois tries to put in action the spiritual forces of the pope, which were then of little signification.

Pope Benedict XI., still residing at Avignon, like

his predecessors, was wholly dependent on the king of France.

It must be remembered that the emperor, who never received absolution from the pope, continued still in a state of excommunication, and deprived of all his rights, in the vulgar opinion of those times.

Philip de Valois, who could do anything with a pope of Avignon, forces Benedict XI. to delay the absolution of the emperor. Thus the authority of a prince often directs the pontifical ministry, and that ministry rouses other princes in its turn. There is one Henry, duke of Bavaria, related to Louis the emperor, and still, according to custom, taking the title of duke, without having the duchy, though he possessed part of Lower Bavaria. This Henry by deputation asks pardon of the pope for having acknowledged his kinsman emperor. This meanness produces none of those revolutions which were expected from it in the empire.

1338 — Pope Benedict XI. owns he is hindered by Philip de Valois, king of France, from reconciling the emperor Louis to the church. We see how almost all the popes have been no more than the instruments of a foreign power. They frequently resembled the gods of the Indians, from whom their adorers demand rain on their knees, but when these prayers are not heard, their godships are ducked in the river.

There is a great assembly of the princes of the

empire at Ems near the Rhine, where they declare what there ought to have been no occasion for declaring, "that he who has been chosen by the majority is the true emperor; that the pope's confirmation is altogether unnecessary; that the pope is still less entitled to the right of deposing the emperor, and that the contrary opinion is high treason."

This declaration passes into a perpetual law, on August 8, at Frankfort.

Albert of Austria, at first surnamed the Counterfeit, and afterwards the Sage, one of the brothers of Frederick of Austria, who had disputed the empire, and the only one of all his brothers by whom the Austrian race is perpetuated, attacks the Swiss again without success. These people who had no riches but liberty, always defend it with unshaken courage. Albert miscarries in his enterprise; in abandoning which, he deserves the name of Sage.

1339 — Louis, the emperor, thinks of nothing but living quietly at Munich, while his vicar, Edward, king of England, engages fifty princes of the empire in the war against Philip de Valois, and goes to conquer part of France. But before the end of the campaign all those princes go home; and Edward, assisted by the Flemings, pursues his ambitious aim.

1340 — The emperor who had formerly repented of giving the vicariate of Italy to a powerful and warlike king of Bohemia, repents again of having given the vicariate of Germany to a more powerful and more warlike monarch. The emperor was the

pensioner of his vicar; and the proud Englishman acting the master and neglecting to pay the pension, Louis deprives him of the vicariate, which had become a very useless title.

The emperor negotiates with Philip de Valois. Meanwhile the imperial authority is quite annihilated in Italy, notwithstanding the perpetual law of Frankfort.

The pope by his own private authority grants to the two brothers Viscontis, the government of Milan, which they had without his confirmation, and makes them vicars of the Roman Church. They had formerly been imperial vicars.

King John of Bohemia goes to Montpellier to be cured by the salubrity of the air, of a distemper which had attacked his eyes. Nevertheless he loses his eyesight, and is afterwards known by the name of John the Blind. He makes his will, by which he leaves Bohemia and Silesia to Charles, afterwards emperor, Moravia to John, and to Wenceslaus born of Beatrice of Bourbon, he leaves Luxemburg and the lands he possessed in France in right of his wife.

In the meantime the emperor enjoys the glory of deciding as arbiter in the quarrels of the house of Denmark. The duke of Schleswig-Holstein by this accommodation renounces his pretensions to the kingdom of Denmark: he gives his sister in marriage of King Waldemar III. and remains in possession of Jutland.

1341-43 — Louis of Bavaria seems to have forgotten Italy, and gives tournaments at Munich.

The new pope, Clement VI., born a Frenchman and residing at Avignon, is at length solicited to go and re-establish the pontificate in Italy, and there completes the annihilation of the imperial authority. He follows the footsteps of John XXII. in his proceedings against Louis. He solicits the archbishop of Trier to cause a new emperor to be elected in Germany. He privately stirs up against him the king of Bohemia, John the Blind, still restless, together with the duke of Saxony and Albert of Austria.

Louis the emperor, who has still reason to fear that the want of absolution may arm the princes of the empire against him, flatters the pope, whom he detests, and writes to him, "that he submits his person, dominions, liberty, and titles to the disposition of his holiness." What expressions are these, to come from an emperor who had condemned John XXII. to be burned alive!

The princes assembled at Frankfort are not so complaisant, and maintain the rights of the empire.

1344-45 — John the Blind seems to have become more ambitious since the loss of his eyesight. On one side he wants to pave the way to the empire for his son Charles: on the other hand he makes war upon Casimir, king of Poland, for the dependence of the duchy of Schweidnitz in Silesia.

This is the ordinary effect of the feudal establishment. The duke of Schweidnitz had done homage

to the king of Poland. John of Bohemia reclaims the homage in quality of duke of Silesia. The emperor privately supports the interest of the pope, but in spite of the emperor, the war is successful to the house of Luxemburg. Prince Charles of Luxemburg, marquis of Moravia, son of John the Blind, being a widower, marries the niece of the duke of Schweidnitz, who does homage to Bohemia; and this is a new confirmation of Silesia's being annexed to the crown of Bohemia.

The empress Margaret, wife of the emperor Louis of Bavaria, and sister of John of Brabant, finds herself heiress of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland; and enjoys the succession. The emperor, her husband, ought to have been much more powerful by means of this acquisition, and yet he is not.

At this period Robert, count palatine, founds the university of Heidelberg on the model of that of Paris.

1346 — John the Blind and his son Charles make a great party in the empire in the pope's name.

The imperial and papal factions at length disturb Germany, as the Guelphs and Ghibellines had troubled Italy. Clement VI. takes advantage of these disorders. He publishes a bull against Louis of Bavaria, dated April 13. "May the curse of God," says he, "and that of St. Peter and St. Paul, light on him in this world as well as in the next; may the earth open and swallow him alive; may his memory perish, and all the elements be his foes; and may

his children fall into the hands of his enemies even before the eyes of their father."

There was no precedent for such bulls; they depended entirely on the caprice of the datary by whom they were expedited. The caprice on this occasion is a little violent.

There were at that time two archbishops of Mentz, one vainly deposed by the pope; the other elected at his instigation, by part of the canons. It was to this last that Clement VI. addresses another bull, for the election of an emperor.

John the Blind, king of Bohemia, and his son, Charles, marquis of Moravia, who was afterwards the emperor Charles IV., go to Avignon to bargain for the empire with Clement VI. Charles engages to annul all the decrees of Louis of Bavaria, to acknowledge that the county of Avignon rightfully belonged to the holy see, as well as Ferrara and the other territories — he meant those of the countess Mathilda—the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and Rome in particular; and that in case the emperor should go to Rome to be crowned, he should quit the city the same day, and never return without the express permission of the pope, etc.

After these promises Clement VI. recommends to the archbishop of Cologne and Trier and to the new archbishop of Mentz the election of the marquis of Moravia as emperor. These three prelates, with John the Blind, assemble at Ems, near Coblentz, July 1, and elect Charles of Luxemburg marquis

of Moravia, who was known by the name of Charles IV.

Father Maimbourg positively affirms that he bought the vote of the archbishop of Cologne for eight thousand marks of silver, and he adds that the duke of Saxony, who was richer, gave his vote at a cheaper rate, contenting himself with two thousand marks.

1. What Father Maimbourg affirms is related only as an hearsay by Cuspinian.

2. How could these secret bargains be discovered?

3. This is certainly a fine proof of the disinterested conduct of the duke of Saxony, to disgrace himself for the paltry consideration of two thousand marks only, because he is rich. The circumstance of being rich is precisely the reason for a man's selling himself at a higher price, provided he is resolved to sell himself to the best bidder.

4. Will common sense allow us to believe that Charles IV. would buy so dear an uncertain title and a certain civil war?

Although Germany was divided, the party of Louis of Bavaria is so much the stronger, that the new emperor and his old father, instead of supporting their claim in Germany, go to fight in France for Philip de Valois against Edward of England.

Old King John of Bohemia is killed in the famous battle of Crècy, won by the English, on August 25 or 26. Charles returns to Bohemia destitute of troops and money. He is the first king of Bohemia

who caused himself to be crowned by the archbishop of Prague; and it was in consequence of this coronation that the see of Prague, hitherto suffragan of Mentz, was erected into an archbishopric.

1347 — Then Louis of Bavaria and the antiemperor make war on one another. Charles of Luxemburg is everywhere defeated.

A very singular scene was at that period exhibited in Italy. Nicholas Rienzi, notary at Rome, an eloquent, bold, insinuating man, seeing Rome abandoned by the emperors and the popes, who dare not return, had been chosen tribune of the people. He reigned some months with absolute power; but the people who had raised, soon destroyed this idol. A long time had elapsed since Rome was rendered unfit for tribunes. But we still see that ancient love of liberty produce divers shocks, and quarrel with its chains. Rienzi called himself "the candid knight of the Holy Ghost, the severe though merciful deliverer of Rome, the zealous stickler for the liberty of Italy, lover of the universe, and august tribune." These fine titles prove him to have been an enthusiast, and consequently capable of seducing the lowest class of the people; but altogether unworthy to command men of spirit and understanding. He in vain attempted to imitate Gracchus, as Crescentius had before vainly attempted to imitate Brutus.

Certain it is, Rome was then a republic, though very weak, as having nothing of the ancient Roman

republic but party and fiction. All its glory consisted in its ancient name.

It is difficult to determine whether or not any times had been more unfortunate, from the inundations of the barbarians to the fifth century. The popes were driven from Rome; all Germany was harrassed with civil war; Italy was torn in pieces by the Guelphs and Ghibellines; Jane, queen of Naples, after having strangled her husband, underwent the same fate; Edward III. ruined France, over which he wanted to reign; and lastly the plague, as we shall see, destroyed a great part of those who had escaped famine and the sword.

Louis of Bavaria dies of apoplexy near Augsburg on October 11. Others allege he was poisoned by a duchess of Austria. Andrew the priest, and others pretend this duchess of Austria was the same called Great Mouth; but Andrew the priest does not consider that Margaret the Great Mouth is the very same who had quitted her husband for the emperor's son. The historians of those days must have entertained a great hatred to princes; for they cause almost all of them to be poisoned. One Hocsemius expresses himself to this effect: "The damned Bavarian emperor dies of poison, administered by the duchess of Ostrogotia or Austria, wife of duke Albert." Struvius tells us, he was said to be poisoned by the duchess of Austria, called Ann. Here then are three pretended different duchesses of Austria accused of that death without the least prob-

ability of guilt. In this manner was history heretofore written. By reading Father Barre one would believe that Louis of Bavaria was poisoned by a fourth princess, called Maultasch: but this is because in the German language Maultasch signifies great mouth or wry mouth; and this princess is that individual Margaret who was the emperor's daughter-in-law.

He named himself Louis IV. and not Louis V., because he did not reckon Louis IV., surnamed the Infant, among the emperors.

It was he who gave occasion to invent the eagle with two heads: there were two eagles in his seals; and the two heads of the eagle preserved almost always since this period, suppose two bodies also, one of which is concealed by the other. The caprice of artists has determined almost all the armorial bearings of sovereign princes.

CHARLES IV.

THIRTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1348 — Charles of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, goes forthwith from town to town, in order to get himself acknowledged emperor.

Louis, margrave of Brandenburg, disputes the crown with him.

The old archbishop of Mentz excommunicates him. The count palatine Rupert and the duke of Saxony join; not inclining to acknowledge either

pretender. They annul the election of Charles of Bohemia, and name Edward III. king of England, who had no notion of it.

The empire was now no more than a burdensome title, since the ambitious Edward refused it; not choosing to interrupt his conquests in France, to run after a shadow.

On the refusal of Edward the electors addressed themselves to the marquis of Meissen, a relative of the deceased emperor. He also declined it. Mutius says he preferred ten thousand marks of silver, received from the hands of Charles IV., to the imperial crown. This is rating the empire at a very poor price; but it is very doubtful that Charles IV. had ten thousand marks to bestow; he who was, at the same time, arrested at Worms by his butcher; a debt which he could not otherwise pay than by borrowing money of the bishop.

The electors, refused on every side, at last offer the empire, with which no persons seem willing to meddle, to Günther of Schwarzburg, a noble Thuringian. This man, who was a warrior, and had little to lose, accepted the offer, to maintain it at the point of his sword.

1349 — The electors choose Günther of Schwarzburg, near Frankfort; the too frequent double elections had introduced a singular custom at Frankfort. The first of the competitors that appeared before the place, waited six weeks and three days; after which he was received and acknowledged, provided there

was no news of his competitor. Günther waited the appointed time, after which he made his entry; much was expected from him. They pretend that his rival caused him to be poisoned. Günther becomes apoplectic and incapable of ruling; and sells it for a sum of money, which Charles never pays him. It was said to be twenty-two thousand marks. He died at Frankfort in about three months.

As for Louis of Bavaria, margrave of Brandenburg, he gives up his rights for nothing, not being sufficiently strong to sell them to Charles IV., who gets the better of the four competitors without fighting, and causes himself to be crowned a second time at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Cologne, to put the title out of dispute.

The marquis of Juliers disputes the right of bearing the sword, at the coronation ceremony, with the marquis of Brandenburg. Ancestors of the marquis of Juliers had performed that office. But this prince did not rank then with the electors, consequently not with the great officers. The marquis of Brandenburg is maintained in his right.

1350 — A plague, more memorable than that which depopulated the earth in the time of Hippocrates, was now severely felt all over Europe, and swept away almost everywhere above one-fifth of the inhabitants; the Germans, as headstrong as ignorant, accuse the Jews of having poisoned their fountains, and everywhere burn and destroy them.

What is wonderful is, that Charles IV. protected

the Jews that paid him, against the bishops and citizens of Strasburg, the abbot prince of Mourbac, and other lords; he was ready to make war with them in favor of the Jews.

The sect of Flagellants revive in Suabia; they are large companies of men who traverse all Germany, whipping themselves with cords knotted with iron, to drive away the plague. The ancient Romans in like circumstances instituted comedies; the milder remedy of the two.

An impostor appears in Brandenburg, who calls himself the ancient Waldemar returned from the Holy Land; who pretends to retake possession of his estate unjustly given, during his absence, by Louis of Bavaria to his son Louis.

The duke of Mecklenburg supports the impostor; the emperor Charles IV. countenances him. A slight war ensues; the pretended Waldemar is abandoned and eclipsed.

1351 — Charles IV. is willing to go into Italy, where both popes and emperors are forgotten. The Visconti rule in the meantime at Milan. John Visconti, archbishop of that town, becomes a conqueror. He seizes Bologna; makes war on the Florentines and Pisans, holding in equal contempt the emperor and the pope. It was he who composed the letter from the devil to the pope and cardinals, beginning: "Your mother, Pride, greets you, together with your sisters, Avarice and Immodesty."

The devil in all likelihood managed the agreement

between John Visconti and Pope Clement, who sold him the investiture of Milan for twelve years, at twelve thousand golden florins a year.

1352 — The house of Austria has always demands on a great part of Switzerland; the duke Albert intends the conquest of Zurich, which allies itself with the other cantons already confederated. The emperor assists the house of Austria in this war, like a man who wished it not to succeed. He sends troops not to fight; or rather who do not fight. The union and liberty of the Swiss are their defence.

The imperial towns incline to establish popular government in imitation of Strasburg; Nuremberg drives out his nobles, but Charles IV. restores them. He joins Lusatia to his kingdom of Bohemia; it has since been divided from it.

1353 — The emperor Charles IV., while he was the young prince of Bohemia, had gained battles even against the pope's interest in Italy. Since he has come to the imperial throne, he searches for relics, flatters the popes; employs himself in making laws, but his chief care is the firm establishment of his house.

He comes to an agreement with the children of Louis of Bavaria and reconciles them to the pope.

Albert, duke of Bavaria, saw himself excommunicated because his father had been similarly treated; wherefore, to prevent the piety of such princes as might think themselves entitled, by virtue of his excommunication, to strip him of his dominions,

he humbly asked pardon of the new pope, Innocent VI., for the injuries done to the emperor, his father, by the preceding popes. He signed an act beginning thus: "I, Albert, duke of Bavaria, son of Louis of Bavaria, formerly styling himself emperor, and censured by the holy Roman Church," etc.

It does not appear that he was forced to this servile submission; so that he must, at that time, either have had little honor or much superstition.

1354 — It is remarkable that Charles IV., passing through Mentz, on the way to his estates in Luxemburg, was not received as emperor, because he had not yet been consecrated.

Henry VII. had already given to Wenceslaus, lord of Luxemburg, the title of duke. Charles erects it into a duchy, and Bar into a margraviate. Hence it has been evidently seen how Bar comes to be held of the empire. Pont-à-Mousson is also made a marquisate. All this country is at length called the Empire.

1355 — Charles IV. goes to Italy to be crowned; rather like a pilgrim than an emperor.

The holy see was at this time situated at Avignon, Pope Innocent VI. having but little credit at Rome, the emperor still less. The empire was no more than a name, and the coronation an idle ceremony. He either ought to have gone to Rome like Charlemagne and Otho the Great, or else he ought not to have gone at all.

Charles IV., and Innocent VI., fond of ceremo-

nies. Innocent VI. sent to Avignon a detail of all that was necessary to be observed at the coronation of the emperor. He appointed the nuncio from Rome to carry the sword before him, which is only an honor, and no mark of jurisdiction. The pope is to be on his throne surrounded by his cardinals, and the emperor is to begin by kissing his feet; after which he presents him gold, salutes him, etc. During the mass, the emperor performs some duties in the rank of a deacon. He receives the imperial crown at the end of the first epistle. After mass, without either crown or cloak, he holds the bridle of the pope's horse.

None of these ceremonies have been practised since the popes resided at Avignon. The emperor at length acknowledged in writing the authenticity of these customs; but the pope, then at Avignon, finding it impossible either to have his feet kissed at Rome, or his bridle held by the emperor, declared that prince should neither kiss his feet nor guide the mule of the cardinal who represents his holiness.

Charles IV. went to this show with a large retinue, but unarmed; nor did he dare to sleep in Rome, according to the promise he had made to his holiness. Ann, his wife, daughter to the count palatine, was also crowned; and, indeed, this empty pomp was rather the vanity of a woman than the triumph of an emperor. Charles IV., having neither men nor money, and coming to Rome only to serve as deacon

to a cardinal's mass, was insulted in every town in Italy through which he passed.

There is a famous letter from Petrarch to the emperor, reproaching him with his weakness. Petrarch was worthy of teaching Charles IV. to think nobly.

1356 — Charles IV. acts in everything contrary to his predecessors; they had favored the Ghibellines, who were in effect the faction of the empire; he marches some forces against them, countenancing the Guelphs, whereby he only increases the troubles of Italy.

At his return into Germany he applied himself, as much as possible, to establish order, and regulate rank. The number of electorates had been fixed since the time of Henry VII. more by custom than by laws, but not the number of electors. The dukes of Bavaria, above all, pretending a right to vote, as well as the count palatine, the elder branch of their house; and the younger brothers of the house of Saxony believed themselves electors as well as the elder.

In the Diet of Nuremberg, Charles IV. deprives the duke of Bavaria of his right to vote, and declares the count palatine the only elector of that house.

The twenty-three first articles of the golden bull are published at Nuremberg with great solemnity. This constitution of the empire, the only one which the public calls a bull, takes its name from a little

gold box in which the seal is contained, and is esteemed as a fundamental law.

It could only be established among men by the laws of convention. Those which long custom has sanctified are called fundamental. Several things in this golden bull have been altered according to the times.

It was composed by the famous civilian, Bartolus. The genius of the times appears in some Latin verses to be found in the exordium: *Omnipotens æterne Deus, spes unica mundi:* as well as in the apostrophe to the seven mortal sins; and in the necessity of having seven electors, because of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the candlestick with seven branches.

The emperor, at first, spoke like an absolute master without consulting any person:

"We declare and ordain by this present edict, which shall continue to all perpetuity, from our certain knowledge, absolute power, and imperial authority."

He does not therein establish the seven electors; he supposes them established. There is no mention in the first two chapters about the form and security of the journey of the seven electors, who are not to go to Frankfort without declaring to the world and to Christians a temporal sovereign; that is to say, a king of the Romans, or future emperor.

They afterwards suppose, No. 8, article 2, that this custom has been always inviolably observed;

" and moreover that which is above written has been inviolably observed." Charles IV. and Bartolus forget that they had often elected emperors in another manner, beginning from Charlemagne, and ending with Charles IV., himself. One of the most important points is the indivisibility of the right of electing, which by hereditary right passes, in the male line, always to the eldest son.

It ought then to have been ordained that the secular electorates be no more divided, but descend wholly to the eldest son. This is what was omitted in the twenty-three famous articles published at Nuremberg, so very ostentatiously, the emperor attending the publication, with a sceptre in one hand and the globe of the world in the other. Very few things are attended to in that bull; neither is there any method observed, nor the particulars of the general government of the empire in the least treated of.

A most important thing is expressed in the seventh article of No. 7; that is, if one of the electoral principalities becomes vacant to the profit of the empire — undoubtedly the secular principalities are understood — the emperor has the disposal of it, as of a thing fallen legally to him and to the empire. These confused words point out that the emperor can take as his own an electorate, when the line is either extinct or attained. The particular favor shown to Bohemia is also remarkable in this bull, the emperor being king of Bohemia. It is the only country whence there can be no appeal to the impe-

rial chamber. This right *de non appellando* has since been granted to divers princes, and contributed to make them much more powerful.

The reader may consult the golden bull for the remainder.

The finishing hand is put to the golden bull at Metz; where, during the Christmas, seven chapters are added to it. They repair the inadvertent omission of making the electoral successions indivisible. That which is most clear and evident in these articles is the respect paid to pomp and vanity. It is plain to be seen that Charles IV. takes delight in making the electors officiate as menials in open court.

The emperor's table three feet higher than that of the empress; and hers three feet above those of the electors; a heap of oats lying before the door of the dining hall; a duke of Saxony coming on horseback to take a peck of oats from this heap; in fine, all this ostentation was far from resembling the majestic simplicity of Rome's first Cæsars.

A modern author says that they have not derogated from the last article of the golden bull, since all the electors speak French: yet it is in this precisely that they have derogated; for it is ordained by the last article, that the electors learn Latin and Slavonian, as well as Italian. Now few of the electors value themselves on speaking the Slavonian.

The whole bull was at length published at Metz, when there was a very full court, and the electors

attended the emperor and empress at table, each man in his function. It was not for such solemnities as these that princes did these high offices. Originally they were officers of the household, who had, in time, become great princes.

1357 — That Charles IV. was no friend to either the houses of Bavaria or Austria is plain, from the exclusion of their respective dukes in the golden bull. The first consequence of this pacific regulation was a civil war. The dukes of Bavaria and Austria raise troops. They besiege one of the emperor's commissaries in Danustaussen. The emperor arrives at that place; he can dissolve the league between Austria and Bavaria no other way but by giving up Danustaussen to the elector of Bavaria instead of the right to a vote, which he demanded.

There is a great contest in the empire on account of phalburghers, or false burghers. A contest in which it is very likely the authors have been mistaken. The golden bull ordains that no burghers belonging to any particular prince shall be received in the imperial towns, to withdraw from their sovereign, unless they become residents in these towns. Nothing is more just, nothing more easily to be fulfilled. For certainly a prince will overrule the disobedience of one of his own burghers, under pretence of his being admitted a citizen of Basel or Constance.

Why then such dissensions about these false burghers at Strasburg? Why were they in arms? Can Strasburg, by any example, support a subject of

Vienna to whom it had given his freedom, and will it be admitted at Vienna? Undoubtedly no. This is certainly one of the most important and most sacred affairs. Sovereigns would deprive their subjects of the first great right all men have, to choose their dwelling place. They fear their dominions will be quitted for the free towns. This, then, is the emperor's reason for commanding the people of Strasburg to receive no strangers on the footing of citizens; this is the reason that the citizens of Strasburg endeavor to preserve themselves in that right, which peoples and enriches a town.

1358 — Charles IV., with all this appearance of grandeur, formerly a warrior, at present a lawgiver, and master of a rich and beautiful country, has nevertheless scarcely any credit in the empire; because nobody wished he should have.

When the emperor endeavored to incorporate Lusatia and Bohemia, Albert of Austria, who has some demands on Lusatia, suddenly makes war on him, while no one person assists him: and he has no way of getting quit of this affair but by a stratagem, and that a very base one. It is pretended that he deceived the duke of Austria by spies; and that he afterwards paid these spies in false money. This story wears the air of a fable, but it is a fable founded on his character.

He sells privileges to all the towns; to the count of Savoy he sells the title of vicar of the empire at Geneva. He for a certain sum confirms the liberty

of the town of Florence; and he extorts considerably from Venice for the sovereignty of Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, but the Viscontis pay him most dearly for having the hereditary power in Milan under the title of governor. Thus it is pretended that the empire, which he bought wholesale, he sold by retail.

1359 — The princes of the empire, excited by the universities of Germany, represent to Charles IV. that in the bull of Clement V. there are many things dishonorable both to him and the Germanic body; that among others it is expressed that the emperors are the pope's vassals, and an oath of fidelity is presented to them. Charles, who had lived long enough to know these slight forms need only be attended to, when supported by force of arms, complains to the pope lest he should irritate the Germanic body; but in a very moderate style, for fear of irritating the pope. Innocent IV. gives for answer that this proposition has become a fundamental law of the Church, taught in all the schools of divinity. To back this answer, he sends a bishop of Cavaillon from Avignon to Germany to demand one-tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues for the pope's maintenance.

The bishop of Cavaillon returns to Avignon after having received strong complaints instead of money. The German clergy exclaim against the pope, and this was one of the first sparks of that revolution in the Church which we now see.

A receipt of Charles IV. in favor of the clergy,

protecting them against such princes as would prevent them from meddling with worldly wealth and bargaining with the laity.

1360 — Charles IV., while making regulations in Germany, abandons Italy. The Viscontis still continue masters of Milan. Barnaby is willing to preserve Bologna, which his uncle, a warlike and politic archbishop, had bought for twelve years.

A Spanish legate, called de Albornoz, enters the town in the name of the pope, who continues still at Avignon, and gives Bologna to the pope.

Barnaby Visconti besieges Bologna. How can one credit, at this day, that the holy father promised by agreement to pay one hundred thousand livres in gold annually, for five years, to be master of Bologna? The historians who repeat such exaggerations are certainly but little acquainted with the true value of five hundred thousand livres of gold.

1361 — The siege of Bologna is raised without being any expense to the pope. A marquis of Malatesta, who had thrown himself with some troops into the town, makes a sally, beats Barnaby, and causes him to retreat homewards. The emperor meddles no other way in this affair than by an effectual rescript in favor of the pope.

A war having broken out between the crown of Denmark on the one hand and the Hanse towns on the other is terminated as usual by treaty.

1362 — Several of the Hanse towns treat with Denmark at Lübeck, in the terms of a crowned head,

a glorious monument of liberty founded on respectable industry. Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund, Hamburg, Wismar, Bremen, and several others, form a perpetual peace with the "king of Denmark, of the Goths, and the Vandals; the princes, merchants, and freemen of his kingdom." These are the words of the treaty; which prove that Denmark was free, and the Hanse towns still more so.

The empress Ann having been brought to bed of Wenceslaus, the emperor sends the weight of the child in gold to Our Lady at Aix, a custom which began then to be established, and has been pushed to an extravagant excess for Our Lady of Loretto.

The bishop of Strasburg purchases, at a very dear rate, the title of landgrave of Lower Alsace. He is opposed by the landgraves of Alsatia, of the house of Oettingen, and purchases his peace, as he did his title, with money.

A great division between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, caused by a woman. Margaret of Carinthia, widow of Henry the Old, duke of Bavaria, son of the emperor Louis, foe to the house into which she married, gives all her rights on Tyrol and its dependencies to Rudolph, duke of Austria.

Stephen, duke of Bavaria, makes alliance with several princes. The Austrian has no person of his party but the archbishop of Salzburg. They conclude a three years' treaty, but their secret enmity is more lasting.

1363 — Charles IV., as sedentary now as he had

been active in his youth, remains always at Prague. Italy is entirely abandoned; each lord there buys the title of vicar of the empire.

Barnaby Visconti still bears a grudge to Bologna, and is master of many towns in Romagna.

The pope, at this time Urban V., obtains very easily from the emperor ineffectual orders to the vicars of the empire. It is related that Barnaby at length sells his possessions in Romagna for five hundred thousand florins of gold to the pope; but was it easy for Urban at Avignon to find such a sum?

1364 — It is also related that Charles intended to turn the Danube by Prague; more incredible still than the pope's five hundred thousand florins. The water must be brought over the mountains, barely to make a canal from the Danube to the Moldau in Bohemia; and besides, it depends on the house of Bavaria, which commands the course of the river. Charlemagne's project of joining the Danube and the Rhine in a flat country was much more practicable.

1365 — A plague that broke out in France, amidst the terrible wars of Edward III., and Philip de Valois, spreads itself into Germany. Several vagabonds who had deserted from these armies, which were ill paid, and as badly disciplined, joining with other rogues, make excursions into Lorraine and Alsace, where they find all the passes open; they are called Malandrins, never welcome, etc. The emperor is forced to march against them on the Rhine with

the troops of the empire; they are driven thence; they ravage France and Holland, like locusts laying waste all before them, without any distinction.

Charles IV. visits Pope Urban V. at Avignon. He endeavors a holy war, rather to prevent the Turks, who had already taken Adrianople, from oppressing Christianity, than to recover Jerusalem.

A king of Cyprus, who beholds the danger more nearly, solicits this holy war also at Avignon. Several crusades had been pursued from time to time, when the Mussulmans were scarcely formidable in Syria, but now that Christianity is shaken, they are laid aside.

The pope, after having proposed the crusades with proper decorum, makes a serious treaty with the emperor for the surrender of his usurped patrimony to the holy see. He grants to the emperor the tenths upon the clergy of Germany; Charles IV. can serve himself by going to Italy to recover the proper dominions of the emperor and not to serve the pope.

1366 — The Malandrins return again on the Rhine and commit devastations even to the gates of Avignon. This is one of the reasons that oblige Urban V. to take shelter in Rome after the popes had been for sixty-two years retired to the borders of the Rhone. The Viscontis, more dangerous than the Malandrins, possess all the openings of the Alps. They had invaded Piedmont and threatened Provence. Urban having only the emperor's word for

assistance embarks on board a galley belonging to the guilty and unfortunate Joan, queen of Naples.

1367 — The emperor excuses himself from assisting the pope to be a spectator of the war made in the Tyrolese between the houses of Austria and Bavaria. And Pope Urban V., after having made some useless alliances with Austria and Hungary, gives at length a sight of a pope to the Romans, on October 16. He is received only as the first bishop of Christianity, and not as a sovereign.

1368 — The town of Freiburg in Breisgau, which had endeavored to gain its freedom, falls again into the power of the house of Austria, by the cession of a count Egnon, who had taken it under his protection; and withdraws it for twelve thousand florins.

The re-establishment of the popes at Rome does not prevent the Viscontis ruling in Lombardy, where they were near reviving a monarchy more powerful and extensive than that of the ancient Lombards.

The emperor goes at last into Italy to the assistance of the pope, and rather indeed to that of the empire. He had a formidable army in which there was some artillery.

This frightful invention began now to be established. It was as yet unknown among the Turks, against whom it had been employed. They had been easily driven out of Europe, but Christians as yet only use it against Christians.

To support the faith in Italy, the pope on one

side wins the duke of Austria; on the other, the emperor; each with a puissant army; it was this sort of conduct that lost the liberty of Italy, nay, of the pope himself. It has been the fatality of this beautiful but unhappy country, that the popes have still called in strangers to their aid, who would, if possible, have carried it away with them.

The emperor pillages Verona; the duke of Austria, Vicenza; the Viscontis immediately sue for peace, to await better times; the war ends in a sum given to Charles, who goes to Rome to be consecrated, according to the usual ceremonies.

1369 — A diet is held at Frankfort. A severe edict forbids the towns and princes from making war of themselves. The edict is no sooner published than the bishop of Hildesheim and Magnus, duke of Brunswick, having each many lords of his party, are involved in a bloody war.

It could scarcely happen otherwise in a country where the very few good laws are without force. And this continual anarchy serves as an excuse for the emperor's inactivity. He ought to hazard everything or remain altogether quiet, and he chooses the latter.

Urban V., having brought the Austrians and Bohemians into Italy, who returned home laden with spoil, now calls in the Hungarians against the Viscontis; there wanted only Turks.

The emperor, to ward off this fatal blow, reconciles the Viscontis with the holy see.

1370 — Waldemar, king of Denmark, expelled from Copenhagen by the king of Sweden and by the count of Holstein, takes refuge in Pomerania. He asks assistance of the emperor, who gives him letters of recommendation. He applies to Pope Gregory XI., who returns him exhortations, and menaces of excommunication, writing to him as to his vassal. It is pretended Waldemar answered him thus:

"My life I hold of God; my crown of my subjects, my estates of my ancestors; my faith only of your predecessors; which, if you have a mind to make use of it, I send you back by these presents." This letter is surely apocryphal.

King Waldemar re-enters his dominions without any assistance by the disunion of his enemies.

1371 — Germany, though as yet in a rustic state, nevertheless polishes Poland. Casimir, to whom had been given the surname of Great, begins to build some towns after the German fashion, and introduces some laws of Saxon right into his own country, which wants laws.

A particular war between Wenceslaus, duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, brother to the emperor, and the dukes of Juliers and of Guelders; in which all the lords of the Low Countries take part.

Nothing more strongly characterizes the fatal anarchy of these times of rapine. The subject of this broil was a troop of highwaymen, protected by the duke of Juliers: and unhappily such an example was not uncommon in those days.

Wenceslaus, vicar of the empire, willing to punish the duke Juliers, is defeated and taken in battle.

The conqueror, fearing the emperor's resentment, hastens to Prague, accompanied by many princes, and, above all, by his prisoner: "I return you," said he to the emperor, "your brother; forgive me both."

One sees many events of these times thus intermixed with robbery and heroism.

1372 — The edicts against these wars having proved ineffectual, a new diet at Nuremberg ordains that no prince or town should for the future make war before the expiration of sixty days from the receipt of the offence. This was called the sixtieth law of the empire, and was always duly observed, when more than sixty days were requisite to prepare for attacking the enemy.

1373 — For a long time past the affairs of Naples and Sicily have had no connection with those of the empire. The Isle of Sicily was at present occupied by the house of Aragon, and Naples by Queen Joan; both, at this time, were fiefs. The house of Aragon had submitted, by treaty, ever since the Sicilian Vespers, to hold it of the crown of Naples, which was held of the holy see.

The view of the house of Aragon in paying a vain homage to the crown of Naples, was to become independent of the Roman court, and had succeeded therein when the pope was in Avignon.

Gregory XI. ordains that the king of Sicily shall

henceforth pay homage to the king of Naples and the pope at the same time. He revives the ancient law, or rather protest, disabling the king of Sicily, or Naples, from ever being emperor; and adds that these kingdoms shall be incompatible with those of Tuscany and of Lombardy.

Charles abandons all his affairs in Italy; entirely taken up with enriching himself in Germany, and establishing his house. He buys the electorate of Brandenburg from Otho of Bavaria, who possessed it, to appropriate it to himself and his family. This case was not set down in the Golden Bull. He at length gives this electorate to his eldest son, Wenceslaus, afterwards to a younger, Sigismund.

1374 — The holy see had been long in Avignon. Urban V. dies when at Rome but a very little time. Gregory XI. determines to re-establish the popedom in his native country.

Such princes and towns as stood possessed of the countess Mathilda's estates enter into an alliance against the pope, who was willing to return into Italy. The most part of the towns, at length, set up their standards, and over their gates the great word *Libertas,* as it is yet to be seen at Lucca.

1375 — The Florentines begin to act in the same manner in Italy as the Athenians had formerly done in Greece. All the polite arts that were entirely unknown before revive at Florence. The factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, during the disturbances they created in Tuscany, had stirred up genius and

courage; it was liberty elevated them. This people was the most respectable, and least superstitious, of any in Italy, and the least inclined to obey either the popes or emperors. Pope Gregory excommunicated them. It was a little strange that these excommunications, to which they had been so often accustomed, should still make some impression.

1376 — Charles has his son, Wenceslaus, proclaimed king of the Romans in Mentz, on the Rhine, the same place where he himself had been chosen.

All the electors are there in person. His second son, Sigismund, assists, as elector of Brandenburg, though but a child, the father having lately transferred that title from Wenceslaus to Sigismund. He had, for his own part, his voice of Bohemia. Five electors were then to be gained. It is said, and many historians assure us of it, that he promised to each one hundred thousand florins of gold. It is not at all likely that each received the same sum, neither is it likely that the five princes were mean enough to receive it, indiscreet enough to talk of it, or that the emperor should boast of having corrupted the votes.

So far was he from giving money to the elector palatine that he sold to him at the same time Gottenburg, Falkenburg, and other domains. He also sold, indeed at a very indifferent price, some of the royal prerogative to the electors of Cologne and of Mentz. Thus did he gain money, and spoiled the empire in securing it to his son.

1377 — Charles IV., aged sixty-four, undertakes a journey to Paris: and it is added that it was to have the consolation of seeing the king of France, Charles V., who loved him tenderly; and the reason of this tenderness for a monarch that he had never seen was his having espoused formerly one of his aunts. Another reason alleged for this journey is his being afflicted with the gout, and his having promised M. St. Maurus, a saint in the neighborhood of Paris, to make a pilgrimage to him, on horseback, for his cure. The true reason was disgust, uneasiness, and a custom established in those days for princes to visit each other. He goes at length from Prague to Paris, accompanied by his son Wenceslaus, king of the Romans. He scarcely sees a finer country than his own from the frontiers to Paris. Paris deserves not his curiosity. The old palace of St. Louis, which still subsists, and the castle of the Louvre, which is no more, are not worth the trouble of the journey. In Tuscany only they were emerging from barbarity, nor had architecture been as yet reformed.

If there was anything serious in this journey, it was the office of the vicar of the empire, in the ancient kingdom of Arles, which he gave to the dauphin. It was a long time a question among the civilians whether Dauphiny ought to be always held of the empire; but it has not, a great while since, been one among sovereigns. It is true that the last dauphin, Humbert, in ceding Dauphiny to the second son of Philip of Valois, ceded it with the same

right with which he possessed it. It is moreover true that they pretend Charles IV. himself had renounced all his rights; but yet they were not the less insisted on by his successors. Maximilian I. always claimed the dependence of Dauphiny. But this right must have been very little minded, since Charles V., in obliging Francis I., his prisoner, to cede Burgundy to him by the treaty of Madrid, makes not the least mention of the homage due to the empire on account of Dauphiny. All the sequel of this history shows how time changes rights.

1378 — A French gentleman, named Enguerant de Coucy, makes use of the emperor's journey to France to prefer a very strange request, that of making war on the house of Austria. He was great grandson of the emperor Albert of Austria by his mother, the daughter of Leopold. He demanded the estates of Leopold, as not being masculine fiefs. The emperor grants him entire possession. He never considered how it was possible for a private gentleman of Picardy to levy an army. Coucy, nevertheless, has one pretty considerable, furnished by his relatives and friends; by the reigning spirit of heroism; by some of his patrimony, which he sold, and by the hope of plunder; which engages many people in extraordinary undertakings.

He marched toward such parts of Alsace and Switzerland as belong to the house of Austria. But not having wherewithal to pay his troops, and some contributions gathered about Strasburg not being

sufficient to enable him to keep the field any long time, his army soon dispersed, and his project was at an end. The fate of this gentleman was no more than what happens to all great princes, even now, who raise forces too hastily.

Gregory XI. at length, after having seen Rome in 1377, and brought back the pontifical see from Avignon, where it had been settled seventy-two years, dies on March 27, 1378.

The Italian cardinals now prevail, and choose an Italian pope. It was Prignano, a Neapolitan, a man fierce and impetuous. He takes the name of Urban. Prignano Urban, in his first consistory, declared he would do justice to Charles V., king of France, and Edward III., king of England, who disturbed the peace of Europe. Cardinal de la Grange, shaking his hand at him, answered him that "he lied," two words that plunge Christianity into a war of more than thirty years' duration.

Most of the cardinals, irritated at the pope's violent and intolerable temper, retire to Naples, declare the election of Prignano Urban as forced and void, and choose Robert, son of Amadeus III., count of Geneva, who assumes the name of Clement, and establishes an anti-Roman see in Avignon. Europe is divided. The emperor and Flanders join the latter; Hungary, which belongs to the emperor, acknowledges Urban.

France, Scotland, and Savoy are for Clement. One may easily judge, by the side taken by each

power, that all acted upon interested principles. The name of a pope is but a word of raillery.

Queen Joan of Naples acknowledges Clement, because she had been formerly protected by France, and because this unfortunate queen had called Louis of Anjou, brother of Charles V., to her assistance.

Wenceslaus, duke of Luxemburg, dying without issue, leaves all his fiefs to his brother, and after him to Wenceslaus, king of the Romans.

The emperor Charles IV. dies soon after, leaving Bohemia with the empire to Wenceslaus; Brandenburg to his second son, Sigismund; Lusatia and the two duchies of Silesia to John, his third son.

It happens, notwithstanding the Golden Bull, that he has benefited his family much more than Germany.

WENCESLAUS.

THIRTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1379-82 — The reign of Charles IV., which had been much complained of, and still is blamed, is an age of gold, when compared to the times of Wenceslaus, his son.

He begins by wasting his father's treasures in debaucheries at Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle; without giving himself any trouble about his patrimony, Bohemia, desolated by the plague.

At the latter end of the year all the Bohemian lords revolt against him. He sees himself all of a sudden beset, without daring to hope for any assist-

ance from the empire, and obliged to march against his Bohemian subjects; the rest of those banditti called Malandrins, who ranged Europe, seeking the service of such princes as would employ them, ravage Bohemia for their pay. Europe, in the meantime, is torn to pieces by the schism between the two popes. Which melancholy dispute, at last, cost the unfortunate Joan, queen of Naples, her life.

Now that there were no hopes, it was made a point of religion as well as policy to side with one of them. He was certainly wisest who acknowledged neither. Joan, queen of Naples, had unfortunately declared for Clement at a time that Urban had it in his power to hurt her. She was accused of having assassinated her first husband, Andrew of Hungary, and living then quietly with Otho of Brunswick, her present spouse.

Urban, possessed, as yet, of some power in Italy, stirs up against her Charles of Durazzo, under pretence of avenging the fate of her first husband.

Charles of Durazzo comes into Hungary to assist the anger of the pope, who had promised him the crown. What is most terrible in this affair is that he had been adopted by Queen Joan, who was now far advanced in years. He had been declared her heir, yet preferred stripping her, who had been to him as a mother, of crown and life, rather than wait till nature and time gave him the crown.

Otho of Brunswick, who fights in his wife's behalf, is made prisoner along with her. Charles

of Durazzo causes her to be strangled. Naples had, since the days of Charles of Anjou, become a theatre of wicked attempts against their crowned heads.

1383-86 — The imperial throne becomes at present a scene of horror and contempt. In Bohemia nothing to be seen but seditions against Wenceslaus. All the members of the house of Bavaria reunite to declare war against him. This is a crime by the laws. But there are no longer laws.

The emperor has no other way of assuaging this storm than in restoring to the count palatine of Bavaria the towns of the higher palatinate, which Charles IV. had seized when that prince had been distressed.

He cedes other towns to the duke of Bavaria, as Mühlberg and Bernau. All the towns on the Rhine, of Suabia and Franconia, league against him. The princes bordering on France receive pensions. To Wenceslaus remains the bare title of emperor.

1387 — While an emperor thus debases himself, a woman immortalizes her name. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark and of Norway, becomes by victories and election queen of Sweden. This grand revolution respects Germany no farther than as this heroine is fruitlessly opposed by the princes of Mecklenburg, the counts of Holstein, the towns of Hamburg and Lübeck.

The alliance of the Swiss cantons strengthens them for the present, and they grow always stronger by war. It was now some years since the canton

of Berne had engaged in this union. Duke Leopold bends his views to the taming of these people. He attacks them, and loses the battle, with his life.

1388 — The leagues of the towns of Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhine might form a people free as the natives of Switzerland, especially under a reign so confused as this of Wenceslaus, were there not too many chiefs, too great a variety of particular interests; besides the nature of their situation, open on every side, did not permit them to separate themselves from the empire like the Swiss.

1389 — Sigismund, the brother of Wenceslaus, gains some glory in Hungary. He was only the husband of the queen whom the Hungarians had called King Mary; a title they have revived, not long since, in favor of Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI. Mary was young, and the states not wanting her husband to govern, they committed the regency to Elizabeth of Bosnia, mother of their King Mary, so that Sigismund found himself only the husband of the princess under tuition, to whom was awarded the title of king.

The states of Hungary are discontented with the regency, and do not entirely choose to serve Sigismund. They offer the crown to Charles of Durazzo, a man used to strangle queens, who arrives and is crowned.

The regent and her daughter disguise their sentiments, watch their opportunity, and cause him to be assassinated before them. The palatine of Croatia

sets himself up to be judge of the two queens; he causes the mother to be drowned, and the daughter to be imprisoned. It is now that Sigismund shows himself worthy of reigning. He levies troops in his electorate of Brandenburg and in the dominions of his brother. He defeats the Hungarians.

The palatine of Croatia delivers up his wife, having made her promise he should be continued in his government. Sigismund, crowned king of Hungary, does not believe himself obliged to observe his wife's word, and causes the palatine of Croatia to be quartered in the town of the five churches.

1390 — During these horrors the great schism in the church increases. It might have been extinguished after the death of Urban by acknowledging Clement, but at Rome they chose one Peter Tomasselli, who was not received in Germany, because France had acknowledged Clement. He requires the annats, or first year's profit of the benefices, which Germany pays, and murmurs.

It looks as if they determined to make the Jews repay them what they had advanced to the pope. Almost all the inland trade was conducted by them, in spite of the Hanse towns. They imagined them so rich in Bohemia that they murdered and destroyed them everywhere. The same was done in many towns, and above all at Spires.

Wenceslaus, who was sparing of his edicts, issued one annulling all debts due to the Jews, imagining thus to conciliate the nobility and people.

1391-97 — The town of Strasburg is so powerful as to support a war against the elector palatine, and his bishop, on account of some fiefs. It incurs the imperial ban, and is ended for thirty thousand florins paid to the emperor's profit.

Three brothers, dukes of Bavaria, enter into compact, by which every Bavarian prince is bound henceforth neither to sell nor give up his tenure to anyone but his nighest relative; and not to dispose of it to a stranger without the consent of every member of the house. Here is a law which might be inserted in the Golden Bull, much to the advantage of the first families in Germany.

Each sovereign and each town take the best care possible of their mutual affairs.

Wenceslaus, shut up in Prague, commits many actions of barbarity and madness. There were, particularly, times in which he was quite beside himself. This is an effect of excess in eating and drinking, which attends more people than one may imagine.

Charles VI. of France was, in the meantime, attacked with a disorder of nearly the same nature, losing often the use of reason. The antipopes divide the church, and indeed Europe. By whom or how was the world at this time governed?

Wenceslaus, in one of his fits, threw the monk John Nepomuk, into the Moldau, where he was drowned, because he had refused to tell him what the queen, his wife, had confessed to him. It is said

he sometimes walked the streets attended by the public executioners, and put to death on the spot such people as he disliked. The magistrates of Prague cause him to be seized as a common malefactor, and thrown into a dungeon.

They permit him baths for the recovery of his health and senses.

He escapes with one servant maid, whom he makes his mistress. He shuts himself up in Beraun. Here was a fair opportunity for Sigismund, his brother, king of Hungary, to have himself acknowledged King of Bohemia; nor does he let it slip, but he could only get himself declared regent. He shuts up his brother in the castle of Prague; whence he sends him to Duke Albert of Austria at Vienna, and returns to Hungary to oppose the Turks, who began to extend their conquests on that side.

Wenceslaus makes another escape from his new prison, and once more reaches Prague, and, what is wonderful, finds there some partisans.

What is still more astonishing is that Germany does not interfere in the least in the emperor's affairs, neither when he is in a dungeon at Prague nor Vienna nor yet when he returns home to Bohemia.

1398 — Is it credible that Wenceslaus, in the midst of the infamy and turns of such a life, should propose a meeting at Rheims in Champagne, with Charles IV., king of France, to put an end to the scandals of schism?

And at Rheims the two monarchs meet. It is remarked that at a feast given here by the king of France to the emperor and to the king of Navarre, a patriarch of Alexandria who was present took the first place at table. It is also remarked that one morning Wenceslaus was found drunk by those who went to confer with him on the business of the church.

The universities begin now to gain some credit, because they were new, and had no authority in the church. That of Paris was the first which proposed a demission of the papacy, and the election of a new pope. And it was debated that the king of France should obtain the demission of his pope, Clement; and that Wenceslaus also should engage for his pope doing the same.

Neither of the pretenders chose to resign. They were the successors of Clement and Urban. The first was Tomaselli, who, being elected on the death of Urban, assumed the name of Boniface; the second was Pedro de Luna, a native of Aragon, who was called Benedict, and fixed his residence at Avignon.

The court of France keeps its word with the emperor, proposes to Benedict his abdication, which he refusing, is kept prisoner five whole years in his castle at Avignon.

Thus the court of France, in not acknowledging a pope during five years, showed that the church could subsist without a pope.

It was said that Wenceslaus could drink with his pope, but not treat with him.

1399 — He finds at length a spouse, Sophia of Bavaria, notwithstanding his having hastened the death of his first with ill treatment. He is not known to relapse into any of his fits of frenzy after this match, and minds nothing but, like his father, Charles IV., heaping up money. He sells everything, and at last disposes of the emperor's title to Lombardy unto Galeazo Visconti, declaring it, according to some authors, entirely independent of the empire, for one hundred and fifty thousand golden crowns. No law prevents the emperor from these alienations. Had there subsisted any, Visconti would never have hazarded so considerably.

The ministers of Wenceslaus, who pillage Bohemia, incline to levy exactions on the province of Meissen, about which complaints are made to the electors, and straightway these princes, who had taken no steps against Wenceslaus when he was made, assemble to depose him.

After many assemblies of electors, princes, and deputies of towns, a solemn diet is held at Landstein, near Mentz. The three ecclesiastical electors, together with the palatine, formally depose the emperor in the presence of many princes, who only assist as witnesses. The electors having the sole right of choosing, draw from it the necessary conclusion of their having the sole right of vacating. They revoke the alienations that had been purchased

from the emperor; but this makes not Visconti less absolute from Piedmont to the gates of Venice.

The act of deposing Wenceslaus bears date of August 20, in the morning. The electors a few days after choose for emperor Frederick, duke of Brunswick, who is assassinated by a count Waldeck, while preparing for his coronation.

ROBERT,

COUNT PALATINE OF THE RHINE.

THIRTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1400 — Robert, count palatine of the Rhine, is elected at Rens by the same four electors. His election could not possibly have been on August 22, as has been asserted, because Wenceslaus was deposed on August 20, and there must certainly have been more than two days consumed in choosing the duke of Brunswick, preparing for his coronation, and assassinating him.

Robert, according to custom, presents himself armed at the gates of Frankfort, and makes his entry there at the end of six weeks and three days. This is the last example we have of this custom.

1401 — Some princes and towns still hold out for Wenceslaus, as a few Romans regretted Nero. The magistrates of the free town of Aix-la-Chapelle shut their gates against Robert, who wanted to be crowned there. He remains at Cologne with the archbishop.

To gain the Germans he is willing to recover the

Milanese for the empire, from which Wenceslaus had divided it. He forms an alliance with the towns of Switzerland and Suabia, as if he was only the prince of the empire, and raises troops against Visconti. The circumstance of things was favorable. Venice and Florence were already arming against the formidable power of his new duke of Lombardy.

Being in Tyrol, he sent a challenge to Galeazo, beginning: "To John Galeazo, count of Verona," to which was answered: "To you, Robert of Bavaria, we, duke of Milan, by the grace of God, and of Wenceslaus," etc. After which he promises to beat him, and keeps his word, in the defiles of the mountains.

Several princes, who had accompanied the emperor, retire with their few remaining soldiers, and Robert at length wanders away alone.

1402-3 — John Galeazo remains master of all Lombardy, and protector of the neighboring towns, in spite of them. He dies, leaving, among other children, one daughter, married to the duke of Orleans, the source of so many unhappy wars.

Upon his death one of the popes, Boniface, who was neither firmly settled in Rome, nor acknowledged by half Europe, makes a successful use of the hatred which the conquests of John Galeazo had inspired, and possesses himself, by his intrigues, of Bologna, Perusia, Ferrara, and of many towns of the ancient inheritance of the countess Mathilda, which the holy see had always claimed.

Wenceslaus, awaking from his lethargy, takes it in his head at last to defend the imperial crown against Robert. They mutually accept of the king of France's mediation, whom the electors pray to come to pronounce judgment between Wenceslaus and Robert at Cologne, where both should be present, and submit themselves to him.

Very likely the electors asked the king of France's judgment because they knew he was not in a condition to give it. The return of this malady hindered him from governing his own dominions. Could he then come to decide between two emperors?

The deposed Wenceslaus has now some hopes from his brother, Sigismund, king of Hungary, who, by a whimsical chance, is himself dethroned, and imprisoned in his own kingdom.

The Hungarians chose Ladislaus, king of Naples, for their king, who scarcely arrives on the frontiers of Hungary before Naples revolts, and he returns to extinguish the rebellion.

Let us here draw a picture of Europe. One sees her divided by two popes; Germany rent by two emperors; the disagreement in Italy after Visconti's death; the Venetians possessing themselves of one part of Lombardy; the Genoese of another; Pisa subject to Florence; horrible troubles in France during the madness of the king; civil wars in England; the best provinces in Spain overrun by the Moors; the Turks advancing towards Greece, and

the empire of Constantinople drawing towards a conclusion.

1404 — Robert, nevertheless, purchases some little territories surrounding his palatinate; the bishop of Strasburg sells his Osnabrück, Celle, and other seigniories. This is almost all that remains to him of the empire.

The duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI., buys the duchy of Luxemburg from Joshua, marquis of Moravia, to whom Wenceslaus had sold it. Sigismund had disposed also of his right to the homage of it. Thus the duchies of Luxemburg and Milan are, by their new possessors, looked upon as detached from the empire.

1405 — The new dukes of Luxemburg and of Lorraine go to war without the empire's siding with either. Had things continued thus a few years longer, there had been neither empire nor Germanic body.

1406 — The marquis of Baden and the count of Würtemberg make with impunity a league with Strasburg and the towns of Suabia against the imperial authority. The purport of the treaty was "that in case the emperor presumed to meddle with the rights of any of them, they should unitedly make war upon him."

The Swiss strengthen themselves daily. The electors ravage the dominions of the house of Austria in Sundgau and in Alsace.

1407-8 — While the imperial authority daily

declines, the schism of the church continues. No sooner than one antipope dies, his party sets up another. These scandals would have made all people shake off the yoke of Rome had they been more reasonable and spirited, and had not the princes always had it in their heads to have a pope of their party, that they might have something of the arms of religion wherewith to oppose their enemies. This is the real reason of the many leagues that have been known between the see of Rome and many kings; of so many contradictions, excommunications demanded privately by some, and despised by others.

The church began already to dread learning, wit, and the polite arts. They had travelled from the court of Robert, king of Naples, to Florence, where they had erected their empire. The growing emulation of the university began to clear up some knotty points. One-half of Italy was at enmity with popes. Nevertheless, the Italians, more prudent than other nations, never established any sect against the church. They often made war upon the Roman court, but never on the Roman church. The Albigenses and the Vaudois had now begun to appear near the frontiers of France. Wycliffe rose up in England. John Huss, a doctor of the new university of Prague, and confessor to the queen of Bohemia, wife of Wenceslaus, having read Wycliffe's manuscripts, preached up his opinions at Prague. Rome did not expect even the first rays of erudition

coming from a country which she had so long styled barbarous. The doctrine of John Huss consisted chiefly of giving to the church certain rights, which the holy see pretended to reserve to herself.

The times are favorable. There has been, ever since the birth of schism, a succession of antipopes on each side, and it was extremely difficult to know on which side was the Holy Ghost.

The ecclesiastical throne being thus split in two, each half is confused and bloody. The same fate attends thirty episcopal sees. A bishop, confirmed by one pope, disputes his cathedral, sword in hand, with one approved of by another.

At Liège, for example, there are two bishops who stir up a bloody war. John of Bavaria, chosen by a part of the chapter, contends with one elected by another part, and as the opposed popes had only bulls to bestow, John of Bavaria calls to his aid John, duke of Burgundy, with an army. In fine, to settle which shall have the cathedral of Liège, the town is sacked and almost reduced to ashes.

So many evils, which in general it is impossible to remedy until they come to extremes, at last produce the Council of Pisa, whither several cardinals retiring, summon the rest of the church. This council is afterwards transferred to Constance.

1409 — If there was a possibility of extinguishing the schism which had so long raged over Christian Europe, in a legal and canonical manner, it was by the authority of this council.

Two antipopes, the successors of two antipopes, lend their names to this civil and sacred war. One is the fierce Peter de Luna, the other Corrario, a Venetian.

The Council of Pisa declares them both unworthy of the papal throne. Twenty-four cardinals, with the consent of the council, choose Philargi, a native of Candia, on June 17, 1409. Philargi, the lawful pope, dies in about ten months. All the cardinals that are now in Rome unanimously elect Balthazar Cossa, who assumes the name of John XXIII. He had been brought up in the church and in arms. Being made a deacon from a pirate, he had distinguished himself in his progress on the coast of Naples in favor of Urban. He had, some time since, purchased, at a very dear rate, a cardinal's hat, and a mistress named Catharine, whom he carried off from her husband. At the head of a small army he recovered Bologna from the Visconti. He was a soldier without morals, but, nevertheless, he was a pope canonically elected.

The schism seems now to be ended by the laws of the church, but the politics of certain princes give it still a being, if we can call by the name of politics that spirit of jealousy, of intrigue, of rapine, of fear, and of expectation which sets the world in a flame.

A diet was assembled in Frankfort, in 1409, at which the emperor presides, and is attended by ambassadors from the kings of France, England

and Poland. And what ensues? The emperors support one faction of antipopes, and France another; the emperor and empire believing the right of assembling councils to be theirs. The Diet of Frankfort treats the Council of Pisa as an unlawful assembly, and demands a regular council. Thus it happened that the Council of Pisa, when they imagined everything settled, had instead thereof left Europe three popes for two.

The canonical pope was John XXIII., chosen solemnly at Rome. The two others were Corrario and Peter de Luna. Corrario wandered about from town to town. Peter de Luna was, by order of the court of France, shut up in Avignon, where, without acknowledging him, they kept this phantom to produce on occasion in opposition to others in the same business.

1410 — While Europe is thus disturbed by popes, a bloody war breaks out between Poland and the Teutonic knights-masters of Prussia, about some boats laden with corn. These knights, instituted at first to serve the Germans in their hospitals, were at length become a militia something like the Mamelukes.

The knights are defeated. They lose Thorn, Elbing, and many other towns, which remain in the hands of Poland.

The emperor Robert dies May 10, at Oppenheim. Wenceslaus still calls himself emperor, without performing any of the imperial functions.

JOSHUA.

THIRTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

1410 — Wenceslaus was no more emperor, except in Prague among his domestics. Sigismund, his brother, claims the empire. Joshua, margrave of Brandenburg and Moravia, his cousin, also demands it. Joshua not only disputes the empire with his cousin, but Brandenburg also.

The elector palatine Louis, eldest son to the last emperor Robert, the archbishop of Trier, and the ambassadors of Sigismund, name Sigismund emperor at Frankfort.

Mentz, Cologne, the Saxon ambassador, and a deputy from Brandenburg in favor of Joshua, elect Joshua in the same town.

Wenceslaus at Prague protests against these two elections. Germany has now three emperors, as well as the church three popes, without either in reality having one.

SIGISMUND.

KING OF BOHEMIA AND OF HUNGARY, MARGRAVE OF BRANDENBURG.

1411 — By the death of Joshua three months after his election, Germany is delivered from a civil war, which he would not have been able by himself to support, but which would have been carried on in his name.

Sigismund is emperor both nominally and effectually. This election is confirmed by all the electors on July 21.

The towns at that time had no bishops but by the decision of battle, for in the canvassing elections, John XXIII. approved one bishop, and Corrario another, produced a civil war, which happened at Cologne as well as at Liège. The archbishop Theodoric, of the house of Mœurs, does not take possession of his see till he had defeated his competitor, who was of the house of Berg, in a bloody battle.

The Teutonic knights take up arms against Poland. They are so formidable, that Sigismund leagues privately with Poland against them. Poland at length cedes Prussia to the knights, and the grand master becomes insensibly a considerable sovereign.

1412 — The great schism of the West is in some measure an embarrassment to Sigismund. He sees himself king of Hungary, margrave of Brandenburg, and emperor; titles he would willingly confirm to his posterity. The Venetians, having aggrandized themselves much, had, in the time of a crusade, conquered part of Dalmatia. He defeats them at Frial and joins that part of Dalmatia to Hungary.

On the other hand Ladislaus, or Lancelot, that king of Hungary whom he had expelled, makes himself master of Rome, and of all the country to Florence. Pope John XXIII. had at first, like his predecessors, called him in to his defense, and by that

means given himself a dangerous master, fearing he should have found one in Sigismund. This forced step of John soon cost him the pontifical chair.

1413 — John XXIII., to extirpate schism and confirm his own election, transfers the remainder of the Council of Pisa to Rome, where he ought to have had more strength. The emperor convokes a council at Constance to destroy the pope. One sees few Italian popes that are easily duped. This one was entirely duped, both by Sigismund and the king of Naples, Ladislaus, or Lancelot. This prince, now master of Rome, became his enemy, and the emperor still more so. The emperor writes to the antipopes, to Peter de Luna, now at Aragon, and to Corrario, who had taken refuge at Rimini; but both these fugitive popes protest against the Council of Constance.

Lancelot dies. The pope, delivered from one of his masters, ought not to have put himself into the hands of another. He goes to Constance, hoping the protection of Frederick, duke of Austria, inheritor of the Austrian hatred to the house of Luxemburg. This prince in his turn, protected by the pope, accepts of him, *in partibus,* the title of General of the Troops of the Church, and with it a pension of six thousand golden florins, as vain as his commission. The pope unites himself also to the marquis of Baden, and some other princes. At last he enters Constance, October 28, attended by nine cardinals, in great state.

In the meantime Sigismund is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and all the electors assist at the imperial feast in their proper stations.

1414 — Sigismund arrives at Constance on Christmas day, the duke of Saxony carrying the sword of the empire naked before him. The burgrave of Nuremberg, whom he had made governor of Brandenburg, bearing the sceptre. The golden globe was borne by his step-father, the count of Cilli, this not being an electoral office. The pope attended at church, where the emperor assists at mass in quality of deacon. He reads the gospel, but no feet are kissed, no stirrup is held, nor is there a horse led by the bridle. The pope presents him with a sword. There were three thrones erected; one for the emperor, one for the pope and one for the empress, the emperor being in the middle.

1415 — John XXIII. promises to resign the papal chair in case the antipopes should also quit theirs, and provided, "that his resignation every way appeared to contribute to the utility and welfare of the church." This last clause ruined him. He was either forced to this declaration, or the business of a pirate had spoiled him for a pope. Sigismund kissed John's feet as soon as John had read him the particular form. And this lost him the papacy.

Sigismund is easily master of the council by surrounding it with soldiers. Here he appeared in all his glory. There were present the electors of Saxony, of Mentz, and the elector palatine; the gov-

ernor of Brandenburg; the dukes of Bavaria, Austria, and Silesia; one hundred and eight counts; two hundred barons, who at this time were something, and twenty-seven ambassadors, who there represented their sovereigns. They vied in luxury, and magnificence, as may be easily inferred by the number of jewellers, being five hundred, who came at this time to Constance. There were also reckoned five hundred musicians, and, what the customs of these times make very credible, there were seven hundred and eighteen courtesans protected by the magistrate of the town.

The pope is obliged to fly in the disguise of a postilion to the territories of John of Austria, count of Tyrol. This prince is forced to deliver up the pope, and to ask the emperor's pardon on his knees.

Whilst the pope is prisoner in a castle belonging to his protector, the duke of Austria, they prepare his process. He is accused of every crime, deposed on May 29, and the council, by the sentence, reserves to itself the right of punishing him.

July 6, of the same year, 1415, John Huss, confessor to the queen of Bohemia, and doctor in divinity, is burned alive by sentence of the fathers of the council, notwithstanding a very formal protection that Sigismund had granted him. The emperor delivers him into the hands of the elector palatine, who gives him up to execution, he continuing to praise God till his life was stifled by the flames.

These are the principal propositions for which he

was condemned to this horrid punishment: "That there is but one Catholic church, which contains in her bosom all the chosen." "That temporal lords ought to oblige priests to observe the law, and that a pope is not the vicar of Jesus Christ."

"Do you believe the universal *a parte rei?*" says a cardinal to him. "I believe the universal *a parte mentis,*" answered John Huss. "You don't believe in the real presence, then!" cried the cardinal. It is manifest that they intended to burn John, and they did it.

1416 — Sigismund, after the condemnation of the pope and of John Huss, taken up with the glory of extirpating schism, prevails on the kings of Castile, of Aragon, and Navarre, at Narbonne, to renounce their obedience to Peter de Luna.

He goes thence to Chambéry, in order to erect Savoy into a duchy, and gives the investiture of it to Amadeus VIII.

He goes to Paris, sits in the king's place, in the parliament, where he makes a knight. It is said that this was too much and that the parliament was blamed for having allowed it. Why so? If the king had given him his place he ought also to approve of his conferring an honor which was barely titular.

He goes from Paris to London. He is received at the landing by the nobility, who advance in the water sword in hand to meet him, to do him honor, and at the same time to admonish him that he was

not to act as master. This is an acknowledgment of the right which he has, in the opinion of some people, to the great name of Cæsar.

He said that he came to London to negotiate a peace between France and England. It was in those most unhappy times of the French monarchy that the English king, Henry V., insisted upon France by conquest and inheritance.

The emperor, instead of making peace, joins England against unhappy France. He has some advantage in Hungary. The Turks, who had ravaged the empire of the Caliphs and threatened Constantinople, overran the earth even from India to Greece. They laid waste Hungary and Austria, but as yet these were but the incursions of a band of robbers. Troops are sent against them, and they retreat.

Whilst Sigismund is on his voyage, the council, after having burned John Huss, search out another victim in the person of Jerome of Prague. Jerome of Prague, a disciple of John Huss, was greatly his superior in wit and eloquence. He had at first subscribed to the condemnation of his master, but was afterwards ashamed of it. He looked upon this recantation as his only crime, and submitted to death with the same intrepidity on June 1, 1416. Poggio, the Florentine, secretary to John XXIII., and one of the restorers of letters, who was present at the trial and punishment of Jerome, says that he spoke with the eloquence of Socrates, and braved the flames as Socrates drank hemlock.

Socrates, indeed, and these two Bohemians, were condemned because they were hated by the sophists of their respective times. But what a difference between the manners of the Athenians and those of the Christians of the fifteenth century! between the mild death of Socrates and the dreadful punishment of fire, into which priests are cast by priests!

The popes, having pretended to judge of princes, and to depose them when they could, the council, without a pope, imagined they had the same rights. Frederick of Austria, having taken some towns near Tyrol, which the bishop of Trent, whom he kept prisoner, reclaimed, the council order him to give up the bishop and the towns under penalty of being deprived, not only himself, but his children and grandchildren, of all the fiefs of the church and of the empire. This Frederick of Austria, sovereign of Tyrol, flies from Constance. His brother Ernest seizes on Tyrol, and the emperor puts Frederick under the imperial ban. Matters are made up about the end of the year. Frederick is reinstated in Tyrol, and his brother Ernest keeps in Styria, which was his portion; but the Swiss, who had seized some towns belonging to the duke of Austria, refused to give them up, and strengthened their league.

1417 — The emperor returns to Constance, where, with great pomp, he gives the investiture of Mentz, Saxony, Pomerania, and other principalities, an investiture which must be taken at every change of an emperor or of a vassal.

He sells his electorate of Brandenburg to Frederick of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, for four hundred thousand golden florins, which the burgrave had amassed, and which in those times was a very considerable sum. Some authors say it was only one hundred thousand, and are the more credible.

Sigismund, by contract, reserves to himself the right of repurchasing Brandenburg for the same sum, in case he should have children.

In the sentence pronounced by the council in the presence of the emperor against Pope Peter de Luna, he is declared perjured, a disturber of the public peace, a heretic, forsaken of God, and obstinate. The title of obstinate was the only one that he truly merited among them.

The emperor proposes to the council to reform the church before they create a pope. Many prelates exclaim against him as a heretic, and they make a pope without reforming the church.

Twenty-three cardinals and thirty-three prelates of the council, deputies of different nations, assemble in a conclave. This is the only example we have of other prelates, besides cardinals, having a right to vote since the sacred college had reserved to itself the election of popes; for Gregory III. was chosen by the voice of the people.

On November 11, Otho of Colonna is chosen, who changes that great name to Martin. The consecration of this pope was above all others august. The

reins of his horse, as he went to church, was held by the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg. He was followed by one hundred princes, the ambassadors of all the kings, and by the entire council.

1418 — In the midst of this great provision of the council, and such apparent pains to restore peace to the church, and the empire to its dignity, how was Sigismund principally employed? In amassing money.

Not content with having sold his electorate of Brandenburg, he hastened, during the holding of the council, to sell, for his own use, some towns that had been confiscated, to Frederick of Austria. The agreement made, restitution ought to have ensued; the delay of which, and his continual want of money, tarnished his glory.

The new pope, Martin V., declares Sigismund king of the Romans, by supplying the defects of formality which are found in his election of Frankfort.

The pope having promised to labor for the reformation of the church, publishes some constitutions respecting the revenues of the apostolical chamber, and the habits of the clergy.

He grants to the emperor a tenth of the ecclesiastical income in Germany, during one year, to indemnify him for the expenses of council, and Germany murmurs at it.

The troubles are appeased this year in Holland, Brabant, and Hainault. All that is important for

history to remark is that Sigismund acknowledges the province of Hainault not to be held of the empire. Another emperor may afterwards admit the contrary. Hainault another time was, as has been seen, held for a little while of the bishop of Liège.

As feudal right is not a natural right, it being no more than pretension to land cultivated by another, but not the possession of a land which we cultivate ourselves, it has been the subject of a thousand undetermined disputes.

1419 — Very great troubles kindle in Bohemia. The ashes of John Huss and Jerome of Prague excite commotions.

The partisans of these two unfortunate men endeavored to maintain their doctrine and avenge their death. The celebrated John Ziska puts himself at the head of the Hussites, and endeavors to make use of the opportunity given him, by the weakness of Wenceslaus, the fanaticism of the Bohemians, and the growing hatred of the people to the clergy, in order to form a powerful party, and establish himself a government.

Wenceslaus dies in Bohemia almost forgotten. Sigismund has the empire now entirely to himself. He is king of Hungary and Bohemia, and lord paramount of Silesia. Had he not disposed of his electorate of Brandenburg he might have founded the most powerful house in Germany.

1420 — It is against this puissant emperor, that John Ziska rises, who makes war on him in his

hereditary dominions. The monks were oftenest victims in this war, and with their blood paid the cruelty of the fathers of Constance.

John Ziska inflames all Bohemia. There were at this time great troubles in Denmark, on account of the duchy of Schleswig. King Eric seizes this duchy; but the wars of the Hussites are much more important, and more nearly concern the empire.

Sigismund besieges Prague, John Ziska puts him to the rout, and obliges him to raise the siege. A priest marches with him at the head of the Hussites, who bears a chalice in his hand, as a mark of acting in a double capacity.

A month after, John Ziska beats the emperor again. This war continued sixteen years; had not the emperor violated his own protection, so many misfortunes would never have happened.

1421 — There had been now for many years no crusades but against Christians. Martin V. caused the Hussites to be preached against in Germany, instead of granting the communion with wine.

A bishop of Trier marched at the head of an army of holy men against John Ziska, who having with him little more than two hundred men, cuts them in pieces. The emperor marches again towards Prague, and is again beaten.

1422 — Coribut, prince of Lithuania, joins Ziska, in hope of becoming king of Bohemia. Ziska, who really merited to be so, threatens to leave Prague.

The word Ziska signifies Blind in the Slavonian

tongue, and thus they called the warrior, as Horatius had formerly been named Cocles. He really merited the title of blind, having lost both his eyes; and this John the Blind was quite a different sort of man from the other John the Blind, who was father to Sigismund. He believed there was a possibility of his reigning, notwithstanding that he had lost his eyes, while he could conquer and be head of a party.

1423 — The emperor, driven out of Bohemia by the avengers of John Huss, had recourse to his old stratagem of selling provinces. He sold Moravia to Albert, duke of Austria; this was disposing of what the Hussites possessed. Procopius the Shaven, because he was a priest, a very great warrior, becoming the eye and the arm of John Ziska, defends Moravia against the Austrians.

1424 — Ziska the Blind supports himself not only against the emperor, but against Coribut, who, from his defender, has become his rival. He routs Coribut, after having defeated the emperor.

Sigismund might nevertheless have profited by this civil war amongst his enemies, but he is engaged at the same time at a wedding. He assists at the nuptials of a king of Poland at Presburg, with great state, while Ziska drives out his rival Coribut, and enters Prague in triumph.

Ziska dies in the army, of a contagious disorder. Nothing is better known than the disposal he is pretended to have made of his body on his death-bed. "Let me be left," says he, "in the open field. I had

rather be eaten by birds than by worms. Let a drum be made of my skin. The very sound of it will put our enemies to flight."

His party does not die with him. It has been formed by Fanaticism, and not by Ziska. Procopius, the Shaven, succeeds to his government and reputation.

1425-26 — Bohemia is divided into many factions, but all unite against the emperors, who cannot repair the ruins of this country. Coribut returns and is declared king. Procopius makes war at the same time with the usurper and with Sigismund.

In fine, the empire furnishes an army of a hundred thousand men to the emperor, and this army is entirely defeated. They say that the soldiers of Procopius, who were called Taborites, used two-edged axes in this battle, and that by this novelty they gained the victory.

1427 —While the emperor Sigismund is driven out of Bohemia, and the embers of John Huss set this country, Moravia and Austria, in a flame, the wars between the king of Denmark and Holstein continue. Lübeck, Hamburg, Wismar, and Stralsund, declare against him. And what was the authority of the emperor Sigismund? He sides with Denmark, he writes to the towns to induce them to lay down their arms, and they pay no attention to him. He seems to have lost his credit, not only as king of Bohemia, but also as an emperor.

He marches once more an army into his own

country, and this army is again beaten by Procopius. Coribut, who calls himself king of Bohemia, is put into a convent by his own party, and the emperor has no longer any friends in Bohemia.

1428 — It is plain that Sigismund was badly succored by the empire, and that he could not raise men in Hungary. He was burdened with titles and misfortunes. At length he opens a conference at Presburg, to make a peace with his subjects. The party named the Orphans, who were the most powerful at Prague, will listen to no accommodation, but answer that a free people have no business with a king.

1429-30 — Procopius the Shaven, at the head of an army of his brethren, not unlike that which Cromwell afterwards formed, followed by the Orphans, the Taborites, and the priests, who carried the chalice, continued to beat the imperialists. Meissen, Lusatia, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, and Brandenburg, are laid waste. A great revolution was now to be feared. Procopius makes use of his baggage by way of intrenchment against the German cavalry, with success. These intrenchments were called Tabors; he goes on with these Tabors, and penetrates to the confines of Franconia. The princes of the empire, involved in wars among themselves, could not oppose these irruptions. What has the emperor then to do? He had not known what it was to hold a council, and admit the burning of a couple of priests.

During these troubles Amurath II. ravages Hungary. The emperor endeavors to engage to his assistance the duke of Lithuania, and to create him king; but he cannot come to the spot; the Poles prevent him.

1431 — He again sues to the Hussites for peace; which he cannot obtain, and his troops are again twice beaten. The elector of Brandenburg and the cardinal Julian, the pope's legate, are a second time defeated at Kisemberg, and that in so complete a manner that Procopius appears to be master of the intimidated empire.

At length the Hungarians, whom Amurath II. had left to breathe, march against the conqueror, and save Germany, which had otherwise been laid waste.

The Hussites repulsed at one place, are formidable in all others. The cardinal Julian, not being able to carry on the war, calls a council and proposes admitting the Hussite priests. The council opens at Basel May 23

1432 — The fathers give passports for two hundred people to the Hussites.

This Council at Basel, under Eugenius IV., was no other than a prolongation of several others, summoned at different times by Martin V., to meet at Pavia and Sienna. The fathers began with declaring that the pope had no right either to dissolve their assembly or transfer it; and that he ought to submit to them, on pain of punishment. The councils

regarded themselves as general states of Europe, judges of popes and kings. They had dethroned John XXIII. at Constance, and they intend the same compliment for Eugenius IV. at Basel.

Eugenius, who believed himself above the council, dissolves it, but in vain. He finds himself cited to appear there, rather than to preside; and Sigismund takes that opportunity to get himself crowned in Lombardy, and afterwards, though to no purpose, at Rome.

He finds Italy powerful and divided. Philip Visconti reigns over the Milanese, and over Genoa, the unfortunate rival of Venice, which has lost her liberty, and now only fought for masters. The duke of Milan and the Venetians dispute about Verona, and other frontiers. The Florentines side with the Venetians. Lucca and Sienna declare for the duke of Milan. Sigismund is too happy in being protected by this duke, in his journey to Rome, to receive the vain crown of emperor. He then takes part with the council against the pope, as he had done before at Constance. The fathers proclaim his holiness a contemner of the court, and give him sixty days for his appearance, after which they depose him.

The fathers of Basel resolved to imitate those of Constance. But their examples deceived them. Eugenius was powerful at Rome, and the times were no longer the same.

1433 — The deputies of Bohemia are admitted to the council. John Huss and Jerome of Prague were

burned at Constance; their followers are respected at Basel, where their voices are admitted. The Hussite priests who come hither, march only in the train of Procopius the Shaven, who approaches with three hundred armed gentlemen; and the fathers cry out: "This is the conqueror of the Church and of the empire." The council allow them the cup at their communion, and they dispute about the rest. The emperor arrives at Basel, where he with great calmness sees his conqueror, and is taken up with a process against the pope.

While they argue at Basel, the Hussites of Bohemia, joining the Polanders, attack the Teutonic knights, and each party believes itself engaged in a holy war. Every ravage is renewed; the Hussites make war among themselves.

Procopius quits the council he had intimidated, to go against the opposite party in Bohemia, and to be beaten. He is killed in a battle near Prague. The victorious faction do what the emperor had never dared to have done. They condemn a great number of prisoners to the stake. These heretics so long armed, to avenge their deceased apostle, now cast each into the flames.

1434 — If the princes of the empire left their chief in a time when he could not revenge himself, they never neglected the public good. Louis of Bavaria, duke of Ingolstadt, having tyrannized over his vassals, being detested by his neighbors, and not sufficiently powerful to defend himself, is put under the

ban of the empire, and is favored by giving some money to Sigismund.

The emperor was, at that time, so poor that he gave up things of the greatest consequence for the most trifling sums.

The last electoral branch of Saxony, of the ancient house of Ascania, dies, without leaving any children. Many relatives lay claim to Saxony. And to obtain this duchy, it costs the marquis of Meissen, Frederick the Warlike, a hundred thousand florins.

1435 — The emperor retires to Hungary, to negotiate with his subjects at Bohemia. The states prescribe the conditions according to which they choose to be reconciled, and stipulate, among other things, that he shall not alter their coin any more. This is a clause to his shame; but a shame common to the princes of those times. The people submit to their sovereign, neither to be tyrannized over nor fleeced.

At last, the emperor having accepted the conditions, the Bohemians submit themselves to him and to the church. Here is a true contract between the king and his people.

1436-37 — Sigismund re-enters Prague, and receives homage again; as newly holding his crown from the choice of the nation. After having appeased other troubles, he causes duke Albert of Austria, his kinsman, to be acknowledged in Bohemia as heir of the kingdom. This is the last event of his life, which happened in December, 1437.

ALBERT II. OF AUSTRIA.

THIRTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

1438 — It then began to appear that the house of Austria would become the most powerful in Europe. Albert II., kinsman of Sigismund, sees himself king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Austria, sovereign of several other territories, and emperor. He was king of Hungary and Bohemia by election; but when the father and grandfather have been once elected, it is easy for their descendants to set themselves up a hereditary right.

The party of the Hussites, who were called Calixtins, chose for king Cassimir, brother to the king of Poland, and he must fight. The emperor, commanded by Albert the Achilles, then burgrave of Nuremberg, and afterwards elector of Brandenburg, secures the Bohemian crown to Albert II., duke of Austria, by repeated victories.

In the great Diet of Nuremberg, the ancient tribunal of the *Austrègues* is reformed. This was a remedy found out, as has been seen, to prevent the effusion of blood in the quarrels of the lords of the empire. The offended were to name three princes as arbitrators, who ought to be approved of by the states of the empire, and give judgment within a year

Germany is divided into four parts, called circles, Bavaria, the Rhine, Suabia, and Westphalia. The electoral territories are not comprised within these

four circles. Each elector, from his own dignity, governs his territories without subjecting them to this regulation. Each circle has a duke or general, and each member of the circle is taxed to a certain degree, either in men or money, for the public security.

In this diet they abolish an old law which still subsisted in several parts of Westphalia, and being contradictory to all law, was unworthy the name of one. It was called the Secret of Judgment, and condemned a man to death without his knowing anything of the matter.

This manner of judging, which is little better than assassinating, has been used in many states, but more particularly in that of Venice, when any pressing danger, or the interest of the state, which is superior to all law, can give countenance to such barbarity. All ill-founded tradition will fain persuade us that Charlemagne I. established this bloody tribunal to keep the conquered and headstrong Saxons within due bounds. Some judges of Westphalia still make use of this cruel custom. All the successors of Charlemagne ought to blush to have left the honor of suppressing it to Albert of Austria.

1439—The Council of Basel continued still on the one hand to trouble the West; on the other the Turks and Tartars, who dispute the East, carry their devastations to the frontiers of Hungary.

The Greek emperor, John Palæologus, who had scarce any more dominions left than Constantinople,

vainly imagines it in his power to obtain succor of the Christians; he humbles himself so far as to come to Rome, to submit the Greek church to the papal jurisdiction.

John Palæologus and his patriarch were received in the Council of Ferrara, a council set up by Eugenius IV. in opposition to that of Basel. The Greek emperor and his clergy, in their submission, really maintain, to all appearance, the majesty of their empire, and the dignity of their church. Neither of these fugitives kissed the pope's feet; they detested this ceremony, revived by the emperors of the West, who call themselves the sovereigns of the popes. Nevertheless they had, in the first ages, kissed the feet of the Greek bishops.

Palæologus and his prelates follow the pope from Ferrara to Florence. There it is solemnly decided and agreed on by the representatives of the Latin and Greek churches, "That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by the production of inspiration; the Father communicates everything to the Son, except his paternity; and that the Son, from all eternity, has had a productive virtue, whereby the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, as from the Father."

The submission of this primacy was a great, interesting, and glorious point for the see of Rome. On the 6th of July the pope was solemnly acknowledged for head of the universal church.

This union of the Greeks and Latins was soon

after disavowed by the whole Greek church; but the victory of Pope Eugenius was not for this the less glorious. While he renders this service to the Latins, and finishes, to the best of his power, the schisms of the East and West, the Council of Basel depose him from the papal chair, declaring him rebellious, simoniac, schismatical, heretical, and perjured.

If we consider the council according to this decree, they will appear only as a troop of factious spirits; if we regard the rules of discipline which they laid down, then they will appear to us as very wise men, and this is because in their deposition of Eugenius, they were influenced only by passions which had no share in their regulations. The most august body, when carried away by passions, always commits more faults than a single man.

It ought not here to be forgotten that Palæologus, at his return to Constantinople, was become so odious to his own church for having submitted to that of Rome, that his own son refused him burial.

Nevertheless, the Turks advanced even to Semandria, in Hungary. In the midst of these alarms Albert of Austria, from whom much was expected, dies on October 27, leaving the empire weak as he had found it, and Europe unhappy.

FREDERICK OF AUSTRIA.

THIRD OF THAT NAME.

THIRTY-NINTH EMPEROR.

1440 — There is a meeting at Frankfort, as usual, for the electing a king of the Romans. The states of Bohemia, who were without a sovereign, enjoyed in common with the other electors, a right to vote, a privilege which never had been given to any but Bohemia.

Louis, landgrave of Hesse, refuses the imperial crown. History furnishes many examples of the same nature. The empire had now for a long time been looked upon as a dowerless spouse, who had need of a very rich husband.

Frederick of Austria, duke of Styria, son of Ernest, who was much less powerful than the landgrave of Hesse, is not so difficult.

In the same year, Albert, duke of Bavaria, refuses the crown of Bohemia, which was offered to him; but this new refusal has its foundation on a motive which princes ought to set themselves as an example. The widow of the emperor, king of Bohemia and Hungary, duke of Austria, was, after his death, brought to bed of a son, named Ladislaus. Albert of Bavaria believed that some respect ought to be paid to the blood of this infant. He looked upon Bohemia as the child's inheritance. He would not deprive him of it. Interest does not always sway

sovereigns. There is also some honor among them; and they ought to consider, that when this honor is secure, it is superior to uncertain dominion.

After the example of the Bavarian, the emperor Frederick III. also refuses the crown of Bohemia. Thus did the precedent of virtue influence. Frederick III. scorns to be less generous than the duke of Bavaria. He charges himself with the guardianship of the child Ladislaus, who, by birthright, ought to possess Upper Austria, wherein is Vienna, and was called to the throne of Bohemia and Hungary by the voice of the people, who in him respected the blood whence he sprung.

The Council of Freising is held, in which those who are killed in tournament, or who have not been confessed within the year, are deprived of burial. These strange and ridiculous decrees have never any force.

1441 — A great Diet at Mentz. The antipope, Amadeus of Savoy (Felix), created by the Council of Basel, sends to that diet a legate *a latere,* where he was obliged to quit the cross and purple which Amadeus had bestowed on him. This Amadeus was a whimsical sort of a man, who having renounced his duchy of Savoy for the unruffled life of a hermit, quitted his retreat at Ripaille in order to be pope. The fathers of the Council of Basel had elected him, though he was a secular. They have in this violated all custom, and these fathers were no longer regarded at Rome but as a seditious faction. The

Diet of Mentz hold the balance between the two popes.

The Knights of the Teutonic Order govern so despotically in Prussia that the people give themselves up to Poland.

The emperor educates at his court Ladislaus, the young king of Bohemia, and the kingdom is governed in the name of this young prince; but in the midst of contradictions and troubles. All the electors and many princes assist at the coronation of the emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle. Each of them is followed by a little army. In those days of ceremony they placed their glory in appearing with magnificence and ostentation; in our days they place it in not appearing at all.

A great example of the liberty of the northern people. Eric, king of Denmark and of Sweden, designs his nephew to succeed him in his throne. The states oppose him therein; declaring that by their fundamental laws the crown ought not to be hereditary. Their fundamental laws at this day are very different. They depose their old King Eric, who aspired at being too absolute, and called to the crown, or rather to the first magistracy, Christopher of Bavaria.

1443-44 — Politics, laws and customs were then very different from what they are in our days. France in that age was seen united with the house of Austria against the Swiss. The Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII., marches against the Swiss,

A PEACEFUL SWISS

whose liberty France ought rather to defend. Authors speak of a great victory gained by the Dauphin near Basel; if he had gained such a great battle, how happened it that he could not, without some difficulty, obtain leave to enter Basel with his domestics? This is certain, that the Swiss never lost that liberty for which they fought, and this liberty gained every day additional strength, in spite of their dissensions.

It was not against the Swiss he ought then to have marched; he ought to have gone against the Turks. Amurath II., after having abdicated the empire, reassumed it at the entreaty of the janissaries. This Turk, who might be ranked among philosophers, was numbered with heroes. He pushed his conquests in Hungary. The king of Poland, Wladislas, the second of the Jagellons, caused himself to be elected by the Hungarians, to the prejudice of young Ladislaus of Austria, brought up always near the emperor. He had concluded with Amurath the most solemn peace that ever Christians made with Mussulmans.

Amurath and Wladislas solemnly swear to it, the one on the Koran, the other upon the gospel.

Cardinal Julian Cesarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for his proceedings against the partisans of John Huss, for having formerly presided at the Council of Basel, and for the Crusade, which he had preached against the Turks, was at

that time, by too blind a zeal, the cause of reproach and misfortune to the Christians.

The peace was scarcely confirmed before the cardinal excited them to the breaking of it. He flattered himself he might have engaged the Venetians and Genoese to assemble a formidable fleet, and that the roused Greeks would make one last effort. A pretext for violating the oaths was wanting. Amurath had observed all the conditions with such exactness that he left no subterfuge to the infringers. This legate had no other resource than that of persuading Wladislas, the Hungarian chiefs, and the Poles, that they could violate their oath. He harangued, he wrote, he assured them that the peace sworn on the gospel was to no effect, because it was made against the inclination of the pope. In effect, the pope, who was then Eugenius IV., wrote to Wladislas, that he commanded him to break a peace, which could not be made without the concurrence of the holy see. We already see the introduction of that maxim that no faith is to be kept with heretics. Whence it is to be concluded, that it ought not to be kept with Mahometans.

Julian at length prevails. All the chiefs allow themselves to be carried away by the torrent, and above all, John Corvinus Huniades, that famous general of the Hungarian armies, who had so often defeated Amurath and Mahomet II.

Wladislas, seduced by false hopes, and still more by false morality, surprises the territories of the

Sultan. He is soon met near the Uxine bridge, in the country formerly called Mœsia, now called Bulgaria. Battle is given him near the town of the Varna.

Amurath carried in his bosom the treaty of peace they had so lately concluded. He drew it out in the midst of the fight, while his troops were in motion, and prayed God to punish the perjured, and revenge this outrage committed against the law of nations.

This is what gave rise to the fable, that the peace had been sworn upon the eucharist, that the host had been lodged in the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this host that he addressed himself in the time of battle. The perjured this time received the chastisement they deserved—the Christians were vanquished after a long resistance. King Wladislas was run through the body, his head cut off by a janissary, was carried in triumph from rank to rank through the Turkish army, and this spectacle finished the rout. Some people have affirmed that the cardinal Julian, who assisted in this battle, endeavoring in his flight to pass a river, fell in and was drowned by the weight of the gold which he carried about him; others say that the Hungarians themselves killed him. It is certain that he perished in this journey.

1445 — Germany ought to have opposed the progress of the Ottomans. But at that time Frederick, who had called in the French to his assistance against the Swiss, seeing that his defenders overrun

Alsace and the neighboring country, goes to chase out these dangerous allies. Charles VII. reclaims the right of protection in the town of Toul, although it was an imperial town. He exacts, under the same title, presents from Mentz and Verdun. This right of protection on these towns in their indigence is the origin of that sovereignty which the kings of France have at length obtained.

Instead of carrying on a long, brisk, and well-conducted war against the Turks, a short one is made on the frontiers against the French.

The ecclesiastical war between the Council of Basel and Pope Eugenius IV. still exists. Eugenius bethinks himself of deposing the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, because they had been partisans of the Council of Basel.

He had no right to depose them as archbishops, and yet much less as electors. But what does he do? He names at Cologne a nephew of the duke of Burgundy, and at Trier a natural brother of that prince; for a pope can never be either puissant, or have it in his power to hurt, but in arming one prince against another.

1446 — The other electors and princes take part with the two bishops vainly deposed. The pope had foreseen this. He proposes an agreement, re-establishes the two bishops; he soothes the Germans, and, in fine, Germany, which had remained neutral in the dispute between the antipope and him, acknowledges Eugenius to be the only lawful pope. The

Council of Basel soon falls into contempt, and in a short time dissolved insensibly of itself.

1447 — A Germanic convocation. This council had nevertheless established certain useful regulations, which the Germanic body afterwards adopted, and which it supports to this day. The elections in the cathedral churches and abbeys are re-established.

The pope never named priests to small benefices but during six months of the year.

There is nothing paid to the apostolical chamber for small benefices. Many other laws of the same nature are confirmed by Pope Nicholas V., who thereby pays homage to the Council of Basel, which in Rome is looked on as an unlawful assembly.

1448 — The sultan, Amurath II., again defeats the Hungarians, commanded by the famous Huniades; yet Germany does not arm itself on this dreadful news.

1449 — Germany is taken up with domestic wars. Albert the Achilles, elector of Brandenburg, engages in one against the town of Nuremberg, which he endeavors to subdue. Almost all the imperial towns join in the defence of Nuremberg, while the emperor remains a quiet spectator of these divisions.

He does not choose to give the young Ladislaus up to Bohemia, where he was demanded, and leaves some room to suspect his intending to keep to himself the possessions of his pupil.

This young Ladislaus ought to be entirely king of Bohemia, duke of a part of Austria, of Moravia,

and Silesia; these were, indeed, sufficient temptations for virtue.

Amadeus of Savoy resigns the papacy and becomes again a hermit at Ripaille.

1450-52 — Bohemia, Hungary, and Upper Austria again demand the young Ladislaus for their sovereign. A gentleman named Eisinger stirs up Austria in favor of Ladislaus. Frederick still excuses himself, under pretence of Ladislaus not being as yet of age. He sends his brother Albert of Austria to quell the sedition, and take hold of that opportunity to be crowned in Italy.

Alphonso of Aragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the interest of the emperor, because he feared the too powerful Venetians. They were masters of Ravenna, of Bergamo, of Brescia, and of Crema. Milan was in the hands of a peasant's son, who was become the most powerful man in Italy. This was Francis Sforza, the successor of the Visconti. Florence was in league with the pope against Sforza. The holy see had recovered Bologna. All the other principalities belonged to different sovereigns who had mastered them. Things were in this state at the journey of Frederick III. into Italy; a journey the most useless and most mortifying that ever emperor made. He was attacked by robbers on the road to Rome. They took part of his baggage, and he ran the risk of his life. What a manner of travelling was this for him who came to

be crowned Cæsar, and chief of the Christian world.

He made one innovation at Rome, subsisting even to this day. Frederick III. dares not to go to Milan to propose their giving him the crown of Lombardy. Nicholas V. himself gives it to him at Rome, and this alone gives the popes a claim to the right of creating the king of the Lombards as they create the kings of Naples.

The pope confirms to Frederick III. the guardianship of young Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and duke of Austria, a guardianship of which endeavors had been used to deprive him, and the pope excommunicates all those who had disputed it with him.

This bull is all that the emperor carried with him from Rome, and with it he is besieged at Neustadt in Austria, by those whom he called rebels — that is to say, by those who demanded his pupil.

He at last gives up the young Ladislaus to his people. He has been a good deal praised for being a faithful tutor, although he resigned his charge but by force of arms. Would they have made it a virtue in him not to have attempted his pupil's life?

1453 — This year was the memorable epoch of the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Certainly now or never was the time for crusades. But it is not astonishing that the Christian powers, who had themselves, in their ancient crusades, wrested Constantinople from its lawful masters, should at length

suffer it to be taken by the Ottomans. The Venetians had been a long time possessed of part of Greece; all the rest was in the hands of the Turks. There remained but one town, and that the capital of this ancient empire, now besieged by more than two hundred thousand men, and in this very town they disputed about religion. One of the points of disputation was whether it was allowed them to pray in Latin; another, whether the light on Mount Tabor was created or eternal; another, if they might be allowed to use unleavened bread.

The last emperor, Constantine, had always near him the cardinal Isidore, whose presence alone angered and discouraged the Greeks: "We had rather," say they, "behold the turban here than the cardinal's hat." All the historians, and even the most modern, repeat some old stories that were then trumped up by the monks. Mahomet, according to them, was only a barbarian, who destroyed Constantinople by fire and sword, and who being in love with a captive, one Irene, cut off her head to satisfy his janissaries. This is all equally false. Mahomet was better brought up, more polished, and understood more languages than any Christian prince of those times. There was only a part of the town taken by assault by the janissaries. The conqueror generously granted a capitulation to the rest, and faithfully observed it. And as to the murder of his mistress, they must be very ignorant of the Turkish customs to imagine that the soldiers concerned them-

selves with what passed in the emperor's bedchamber.

A diet is assembled at Ratisbon to endeavor opposing the Ottoman arms. Philip, duke of Burgundy, attends at this diet and offers to march, if he is seconded, against the Turks. Frederick was not idle at Ratisbon, for this very year Austria was erected into an archduchy, as the charter proves.

1454 — The cardinal Æneas Silvius, at that time legate in Germany, and afterwards pope, by the name of Pius II., solicits all the princes to defend Christianity. He addresses himself to the Teutonic Knights, and reminds them of their vows; but they are too much engrossed in fighting with their subjects of Pomerania and Prussia, who shake off their yoke, and give themselves up to Poland.

1455 — There is no person to oppose the progress of Mahomet II., and, by a cruel fatality, almost all the princes of the empire ruin themselves by civil wars, one against another.

The house of Brunswick was contending for the salt-work; the house of the palatine for the title of elector, which the governor endeavors to assume. The duchy of Luxemburg was invaded by the duke of Saxony, and defended by the duke of Burgundy, for twenty-two thousand florins. The affair of the duke of Luxemburg becomes more serious than any other; young Ladislaus, king of Bohemia and Hungary, reclaims that duchy. It does not appear that the emperor takes any part in these

quarrels. The possession of the duchy of Luxemburg remains at length in the house of Burgundy.

1456-57 — This Ladislaus, who might have been a very great prince, dies hated and despised. He had fled to Vienna when the Turks besieged Belgrade. He had left the glory of raising the siege to the celebrated John Huniades, and the friar John Capistran. The emperor takes care for him of Vienna and Lower Austria; Duke Albert, his brother, of Upper, and Sigismund, their cousin, of Carinthia.

1458 — Frederick III. vainly endeavors to get Hungary to himself; it devolves on Matthias, son of the great Huniades, its defender. He endeavors also to reign in Bohemia, and the states elect George Podiebrad, who had fought for them.

1459 — Frederick III. opposes the son of the valiant Huniades, and the brave Podiebrad only by artifices, which show his weakness, and this weakness emboldens the duke of Bavaria, the count palatine, the elector of Mentz, and many other princes, nay even his own brother, to declare war against him in favor of the king of Bohemia.

He is beaten by his brother Albert, and gets out of this difficulty only by giving up several places in Austria. He is treated by all Germany rather as a member than as principal of the empire.

1460 —The new pope, Pius II., late Æneas Silvius, convokes an assembly of the Christian princes at Mantua, to form a crusade against Mahomet II., but the misfortune of these ancient armaments was,

that as they had formerly been made without reason, they contributed to impede those which were founded on reason. Germany is always divided; for example: A duke of one part of Bavaria, of which Landshut is the capital, employs his thoughts rather on supporting his ancient rights on Donauwörth, than on the general good of Europe. And on the contrary, during the madness of the ancient crusades, they had sold Donauwörth to assist in going against Jerusalem.

This duke of Bavaria, Louis, leagues against the princes of his house; and, together with Ulric, count of Würtemberg, raises an army of twenty thousand men.

The emperor supports the rights of Würtemberg, which had been long an imperial town, against the pretensions of the duke. He makes use of the famous Albert, the Achilles, to quell the duke of Bavaria and his league.

Other troubles are raised by the count of Holstein. The king of Denmark, Christian, possesses himself by right of succession also of Schleswig, by giving some money to the other claimants, and subjects Holstein to the emperor.

1461-63 — Much greater troubles ensue from the quarrel of Bavaria, which rages in Germany; and there are still others caused by the disagreement between the emperor and his brother, Albert, duke of Upper Austria. The emperor is fain to submit; and is obliged, by agreement, to cede the govern-

ment of his own territory of that part of Austria, in which Vienna is contained, to Lower Austria. But the delay of the payment of forty thousand ducats gave occasion to renew the war between the two brothers. A battle ensues and the emperor is beaten.

His friend Albert the Achilles, of Brandenburg, is, notwithstanding his surname, beaten by the duke of Bavaria. These internal troubles eclipse the glory of the empire, and make Germany truly unfortunate.

1464 — We see yet another disgrace. There has been always a sort of prejudiced opinion in many nations, that he who possessed certain particular pledges, or signs, had an undoubted right to the kingdom. In the unhappy empire of Greece a garment and a pair of scarlet slippers were sometimes sufficient to constitute the emperor. The iron crown of Monza gave a right on Lombardy; and when rivals disputed the imperial crown of Germany, he who could seize on those antique arms, the lance and sword of Charlemagne, was secure of the greatest party. In Hungary he was the best off who possessed a certain golden crown. This ornament was in the treasury of the emperor Frederick, who did not choose to part with it at the time that he gave up Ladislaus, his pupil, to the Hungarians.

Matthias Huniades makes a new demand of his golden crown upon the emperor, and declares war against him.

Frederick III. at last delivers up this palladium of Hungary. They make a treaty which never had any-

thing like it. Matthias acknowledges Frederick for his father, and Frederick calls Matthias his son; nay, it is stipulated, that in case this pretended son dies without children, and without nephew, the pretended father shall be king of Hungary. In fine, the father gives the son sixty thousand crowns.

1465-66 — This was a time in which the Christian powers were guilty of many mean actions. There had still subsisted two parties in Bohemia, the Catholics and the Hussites. King George Podiebrad, instead of imitating Scanderbeg and the Huniades, favors the Hussites against the Catholics in Silesia; and Pope Paul II. authorizes the revolt of the Silesians by a bull. At length he excommunicates Podiebrad, who is deprived of his kingdom. These unworthy quarrels take from the Christian cause very powerful assistance. Mahomet II. had no mufti to excommunicate him.

1467 — The Catholics of Bohemia offer the crown of Bohemia to the emperor; but in a diet at Nuremberg most of the princes side with Podiebrad, in presence of the pope's legate; and Duke Louis of Bavaria-Landshut says, that, instead of giving Bohemia to Frederick, the imperial crown ought to be given to Podiebrad. The diet order that a body of twenty thousand men be kept up to defend Germany against the Turks. Had Germany been well governed they had rather opposed them with three hundred thousand. The Teutonic Knights, who might have imitated Scanderbeg, only fight for Prus-

sia; and at length, by a solemn treaty, they acknowledge themselves feudatories of Poland. The treaty was made at Thorn the preceding year, and executed in 1467.

1468 — The pope gives Bohemia to Matthias Huniades, otherwise called Corvinus, king of Hungary; that is to say, the pope, whose great interest it was to oppose a bulwark to the Turks, especially after the death of Scanderbeg the Great, instead of so doing, encourages a civil war among the Christians, and abuses the emperor and empire, by daring to oppose a king who was an elector; for the pope had no more right to depose a king of Bohemia than that prince had to give away the see of Rome.

Matthias Huniades wastes time, troops, and negotiations to possess himself of Bohemia. The emperor, with great mildness, assumes the office of mediator. Some of the princes of Germany involve themselves in war; others are taken up in making treaties. The town of Constance forms an alliance with the Swiss cantons.

An abbot of St. Gall joins Toggenburg to his rich abbey, and it costs him no more than forty thousand florins. The inhabitants of Liège war unsuccessfully with the duke of Burgundy. Each prince is in fear of his neighbor. There is no longer an equilibrium. The emperor does nothing.

1469-72 — Matthias Huniades disputes still about Bohemia; nor does the sudden death of Podiebrad extinguish the civil war. The Hussite party chose

Ladislaus, prince of Poland. The Catholics declare for Matthias Huniades.

The house of Austria, which ought to be very powerful under Frederick III., for a long time loses more than it gains. Sigismund of Austria, the last prince of the branch of Tyrol, sells to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, Breisgau, Sundgau, and the country of Ferrete, which belonged to him, for eighty thousand golden crowns. Nothing is more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, than for sovereignties to be sold at a very mean price. This was dismembering the empire, augmenting the power of a prince of France, who already possessed all the Low Countries. It was not to be foreseen that at some time or other the possessions of the house of Burgundy should revert to the house of Austria. The laws of the empire forbid these alienations; the consent of the emperor ought moreover to be obtained, and even the asking of it was neglected.

At the same time Charles, duke of Burgundy, purchased the duchy of Guelders, and the country of Zütphen, for near the same price. This duke of Burgundy was the most powerful of those princes who were not kings; nay, few kings were so powerful. He was at the same time a vassal of the emperor and of the king of France, yet very formidable to both.

1473-74 — This duke of Burgundy, as enterprising as the emperor, was inactive; is uneasy to all his

neighbors at the same time. No person could have a clearer title to the name of Bold.

He invades the palatinate; he attacks Lorraine in Switzerland. It was then that the kings of France treated with the Swiss for the first time. There were yet but eight united cantons — Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zurich, Glarus, Zug, and Berne.

Louis XI. gave them twenty thousand francs a year, and four florins and a half a man a month.

1475 — It has been always the good luck of the Turks that the Christians were divided among themselves, as if to facilitate the conquests of the Ottoman Empire.

Mahomet, master of Epirus, of Peloponnesus, and of the Negropont, scatters terror everywhere. Louis XI. thinks of nothing but sapping the foundation of the duke of Burgundy's grandeur, which had inspired him with jealousy. The provinces of Italy were employed in supporting themselves against each other, Matthias Huniades was taken up with disputing Bohemia against the king of Poland, and Frederick III. thought of nothing but amassing money, that he might one day be enabled more firmly to establish his power.

Matthias Huniades, after having gained one battle, contents himself with Silesia and Moravia: he leaves Bohemia and Lusatia to the king of Poland.

Charles the Bold invades Lorraine: he finds himself by this usurpation master of one of the finest

countries in Europe, from Lyons even to the sea of Holland.

1476 — His ambition is not satiated: he wants to restore the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, and thereby enclose the Swiss. These people defend themselves against him, as they had before done against the Austrians. They defeat him entirely in the battles of Grandson and Morat. Their pikes and back-swords triumph over the heavy artillery and the shining military force of Burgundy. The Swiss were the only people who at that time fought from no other motive but that of liberty. The princes, nay even the republics themselves, such as Venice, Florence, and Genoa, had hitherto scarcely fought for anything but their advancement. Never people defended more nobly a valuable liberty than the Swiss; they were wanting in nothing but historians.

It was in this battle of Morat that Charles the Bold lost that beautiful diamond which afterwards fell into the hands of the duke of Florence. A Swiss, who found it among the spoils, sold it for a crown.

1477 — Charles the Bold at last perishes near Nantes: he was betrayed by Campo-Casso, a Neapolitan, and killed in his flight, after the battle, by Bausmont, a gentleman of Lorraine.

By his death the duchy of Burgundy, Artois, Charolais, Maçon, Bar-sur-Seine, Lille, Douay, and the towns upon the Somme, revert to Louis XI., king of France, as fiefs to that crown; but Flanders,

which was titled Imperial, with all the Low Countries, and the Franche-Comté, devolve upon the young princess Mary, daughter to the last duke.

The best step that could be taken was Frederick III. marrying his son, Maximilian, to this rich heiress. Maximilian espoused Mary in the town of Essant, on August 17, and Louis XI., who ought to have given her in marriage to his son, makes war upon him.

The feudal right, which in reality is but the right of the strongest, and in its consequence the source of eternal discord, kindles this war against the princess. Ought Hainault to return to France? Is it an imperial province? Has France any right to Cambray? Has it any claims on Artois? Ought the Franche-Comté still to be esteemed a province of the empire? Does it belong to the succession of Burgundy, or ought it revert to the crown of France? Maximilian would have chosen rather the whole inheritance. Louis XI. is willing to engross all that is convenient for him. It is this marriage then which is really the origin of so many unhappy wars between France and Austria; there being no acknowledged right, was the occasion of so many people being sacrificed.

Louis XI. at length possesses himself of the two Burgundies, and towards the Low Countries of all that he could possibly grasp in Artois, or in Hainault.

1478—A prince of Orange, of the house of Châ-

lons in the Franche-Comté, endeavors to preserve this province to Mary. This princess defends herself in the Low Countries, without her husband being able to furnish her any succor from Germany. Maximilian as yet was but the indigent husband of a sovereign heroine. He presses the princes of Germany to take part in his cause. They all rather attend to their own interest. A landgrave of Hesse carries off an elector of Cologne, and keeps him in prison. The Teutonic Knights take Riga in Livonia. Matthias Huniades is on the point of making it up with Mahomet II.

1479 — At length Maximilian, assisted only by the natives of Liège, puts himself at the head of his wife's army, which is called the Flemish forces, although Flanders, properly speaking, that is to say from Lille to Ghent, was of the French party. The princess Mary had a stronger army than the king of France.

Maximilian defeats the French in a battle at Guinegate, in the month of August. This battle was not one of those which at once determine the fate of a war.

1480 — A negotiation. Pope Sixtus IV. sends a legate into Flanders: they made a treaty of two years. Where, all this time, is the emperor Frederick III? He can do nothing for his sons, neither during the war nor by negotiations: but he had given him Mary of Burgundy, and that was enough.

1481 — However, the Turks besiege Rhodes. The

famous grand-master Daubuislon, at the head of his knights, obliges them to raise the siege at the end of three months.

But the Pasha Acomat attacks the kingdom of Naples with fifty galleys. He takes Otranto by assault. All the kingdom is near being ruined. Rome herself trembles. The indolence of the Christian princes escapes this torrent only by the sudden death of Mahomet II., and the Turks abandon Otranto.

A whimsical agreement between John, king of Denmark and Sweden, and his brother Frederick, duke of Holstein. The king and the duke ought to govern Holstein as a fief of the empire, and Schleswig as a fief of Denmark, in common. All these agreements are in general the sources of war; but this above all others.

The cantons of Freiburg in Switzerland, and of Solothurn, join with the other eight. This by itself is but a trifling event. Two small towns cut but a small figure in the history of the world; but becoming members of a body always free, this liberty sets them above the greatest provinces that compose it.

1482 — Mary of Burgundy dies. Maximilian governs her possessions in the name of Philip the Minor, his son. These towns are all privileged. These privileges cause almost perpetual dissensions between the people who would support, and the sovereign who would subject them to his will. Max-

imilian reduces Zealand, Leyden, Utrecht, and Nimeguen.

1483-85 — All the towns surrender one after another, but without any agreement, and are reduced gradually. The seeds of discontent still remain.

1486 — So far are they from uniting against the Turks, that Matthias Huniades, king of Hungary, instead of making a proper use of the death of Mahomet II., to the prejudice of the Turks, falls foul of the emperor. What is the reason of this war of the pretended son against the pretended father? It is difficult to guess. He wants to possess himself of Austria. What right has he to it? His troops beat the Imperialists: he takes Vienna. Here is his sole right. The emperor appears insensible to the loss of Lower Austria: he roves about the Low Countries; thence he goes to Frankfort, to secure among the electors the title of King of the Romans to his son. A man could not have less personal glory, nor prepare better for the grandeur of his house.

Maximilian is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on April 9, by the archbishop of Cologne, Pope Innocent VIII. giving his consent thereto; for the popes always grant what they believe to be necessary.

The emperor, who had credit sufficient in the Diet of Frankfort to make his son king of the Romans, had not enough to obtain fifty thousand florins a month, to enable him to recover Austria. This is one of those strange contradictions often to be met with

in history. At this time was made the league of Suabia, to prevent the particular wars which rend and weaken Germany. It was a regulation of all the princes at the diet of Frankfort; a menacing law, which put all those who attacked their neighbors under the ban of the empire. At length all the gentlemen of Suabia associated themselves to avenge the wrongs done them. This was a piece of true knight-errantry. They went in troops to demolish the strongholds of the Molandrins, or robbers, They also obliged Duke George of Bavaria to desist from insulting his neighbors. This was a militia for the public good. It did not last long.

1487 — The emperor makes a treaty with Matthias Huniades, which none but a vanquished man would ever have made. He leaves to him Lower Austria until he should pay him all the expenses of the war, reserving to himself the right of succeeding his adopted son in the kingdom of Hungary.

1488 — Maximilian, king of the Romans, finds himself at the same time attacked by the French, and by his own subjects in the Low Countries. The inhabitants of Bruges, on whom he would willingly have levied some taxes against the laws of the country, all of a sudden clap him in prison, where they hold him four months; and give him his liberty only upon condition that he shall withdraw the few German troops which he had with him, and make peace with France.

How happened it that the ministry of the young

Charles VIII., king of France, neglected so favorable a conjuncture? This ministry was then weak.

1489 — Maximilian secretly espouses by proxy the duchess Anne of Brittany. Had he espoused her effectually and begotten children by her he would have doubly pressed France, which was surrounded at that time by Franche-Comté, Alsace, Brittany, and the Low Countries.

1490 — Matthias Corvinus Huniades being dead, let us see if the emperor Frederick, his adopted father, succeeds him by virtue of treaties. Frederick parts with his right to the emperor Maximilian.

But Beatrix, widow of the former king, makes the states swear to acknowledge him only whom she should espouse; and soon weds Ladislaus Jagellon, king of Bohemia, whom the Hungarians crown. Maximilian nevertheless recovers Lower Austria, and carries the war into Hungary.

1491 — The same treaty that Frederick III. made with Matthias is renewed between Ladislaus Jagellon and Maximilian. Maximilian is acknowledged presumptive heir to Ladislaus Jagellon in Hungary and Bohemia. Fate, even at this distance, was preparing Hungary for subjection to the house of Austria.

The emperor does a bold action in these times of prosperity. He puts his kinsman, Albert of Bavaria, duke of Munich, under the ban of the empire. It is astonishing to think what a number of princes of this house have been thus treated. What was the

occasion of it? Tyrol was given solemnly to this duke of Bavaria by Sigismund of Austria, and this donation, or secret sale, was looked upon as the gift of his wife Cunegonda, only daughter of the emperor Frederick III.

The emperor pretended that the empire could not be alienated, and the whole empire was divided upon this question; and indubitable proof that the laws were not at all clear, and perhaps there was nothing so much wanting in society.

The ban of the empire was in such cases no more than a declaration of war; but this was very soon concluded. Tyrol remained in the possession of Austria: some compensations are given to Bavaria, and the duke of Bavaria delivers up Ratisbon, which had been for some time in his hands.

Ratisbon was an imperial town: the duke of Bavaria had looked upon it as part of his estate, establishing his title on ancient right; it had been newly declared an imperial town: there scarcely remained to the duke of Bavaria above one-half of the rights of custom.

1492 — Maximilian, king of the Romans, who imagined he might establish the grandeur of his house on a peaceable foundation by marrying his daughter Margaret of Austria to Charles VIII., king of France, with whom she was brought up; and soon after, by marrying Anne of Brittany by proxy, learns that his wife is really married to Charles VIII., on December 6, 1491; and that they are about

to send back his daughter Margaret to him. Women are no longer the subjects of war among princes, but the provinces are. As the inheritance of Mathilda had so long troubled the peace of Italy, so does that of Mary of Burgundy kindle perpetual discord.

Maximilian surprises Arras; after which he concludes an advantageous peace, by which the king of France cedes to him Franche-Comté in pure sovereignty, Artois, and Charolais, and Nogent, on condition of homage.

It is not to Maximilian properly that these countries are ceded, but to his son Philip, as the representative of his mother, Mary of Burgundy.

It must be acknowledged that no king of the Romans ever began his career so gloriously as Maximilian. The victory of Guinegate over the French, the taking of Arras, and the obtaining Artois by the stroke of a pen, covered him with glory.

1493 — Frederick III. dies August 19, aged seventy-eight. He had reigned fifty-three years. No emperor's reign had been longer, but it had not been the most glorious.

MAXIMILIAN.

FORTIETH EMPEROR.

About the time of Maximilian's coming to the empire, Europe began to wear a very different aspect. The Venetians at length opposed themselves as a bul-

wark against the Turks, who already possessed a very large territory. The Venetians still kept Cyprus, Candia, a part of Greece and of Dalmatia: they extended their sovereignty in Italy; but the town of Venice alone was worth more than all their other dominions; the gold of the world flowing in upon them through the channels of commerce.

The popes were become sovereigns of Rome, but sovereigns extremely confined in this capital; and most of the territories which had been formerly given them, and which had been always disputed, were lost by them.

The house of Gonzaga possessed Mantua, a town belonging to the countess Mathilda, and a fief of the empire which the holy see never possessed. Parma and Placentia, which now belonged to them, were in the hands of the Sforzas, dukes of Milan. Ferrara and Modena were ruled by the house of Este; Bologna belonged to the Bentivoglio; Perusia to the Baloni; Ravenna to the Polentini; Florence to the Manfredi; Immola and Forli to the Rimario; almost all the patrimony of St. Peter, and that country which is called Romagna, was possessed by particular sovereigns, the most of whom easily obtained charters as vicars of the empire.

The Sforzas had not, during fifteen years, condescended to take this title. Florence had a much finer, that of Free, under the direction, though not in the power, of the Medicis.

The states of Savoy, as yet very much oppressed,

standing in need of both money and commerce, were then much less considerable than the Swiss.

If from the Alps we take a view of France, we shall find it begin again to flourish. Its members, that had been so long divided, reunite and form a powerful body. The marriage of Anne of Brittany with Charles VIII. completed the strengthening of this kingdom, which had received some considerable improvements under Louis XI. by the acquisition of Burgundy and Provence. Since the decline of the race of Charlemagne, she had but little influence in the affairs of Europe.

Spain, as yet more unhappy than she had been for some seven hundred years, at this time began to revive. Isabella and Ferdinand, after having driven the Moors out of the kingdom of Granada, extended their views to Naples and Sicily.

Portugal was employed in an enterprise of glory unheard of till that time; she began to open a new channel of commerce to mankind, by teaching a passage to the Indies by sea. Here are the sources of all the great events that have since actuated all Europe.

1494 — The Turks under Bajazet cease not as yet to be terrible, though less so than under Mahomet. They make incursions into Hungary and some part of the Austrian dominions; but these are only a few scattered billows, that after the mighty storm contend on the surface. Maximilian goes to secure Croatia and Carniola.

He marries at Innsbruck the niece of Louis Sforza, otherwise called Louis the Moor, the usurper of Milan, who had poisoned his pupil, the natural heir. This was not the only house where crimes had the sanction of nobility. Money only constituted this match. Maximilian weds Blanche of Sforza at once, and gives the investiture of the Milanese to Louis the Moor, which Germany resents.

At the same time Louis the Moor calls also Charles VIII. into Italy, and gives him money. A duke of Milan keeps at the same time in pay an emperor and a king of France. He deceives them both: he believes that he may divide the conquest of Naples with Charles VIII., and while Charles VIII. is in Italy, intends that the emperor shall invade France. The beginning of the fifteenth century is famous for the deepest intrigues and the blackest treacheries. It was the crisis of Europe, but above all of Italy, where many petty princes endeavored to gain by their crimes what they wanted in power.

1495 — A new imperial chamber established at Frankfort, of which the count de Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg, is first president. It was the same chamber which was afterwards transferred to Worms, to Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ratisbon, and at length to Wetzlar, where some processes were determined, which had subsisted since its foundation.

Würtemberg erected into a duchy. A great dis-

pute, to determine whether the duchy of Lorraine be a fief of the empire. Duke Reignier does homage, and takes an oath of fidelity as duke of Lorraine and Bar; at the same time protesting, that he did it only in consideration of holding certain fiefs. Which ought to weigh most, his homage or his protestation?

While Charles VIII., called into Italy by Louis the Moor, and by Pope Alexander IV., rapidly conquers all before him, and makes himself master of all the kingdom of Naples by means of a bastard of the house of Aragon, this same Louis the Moor, and the same Pope Alexander IV., league with Maximilian and the Venetians to drive him out. Charles chooses to wait for them, appearing to be very formidable, though in reality not so.

1496 — Maximilian goes into Italy, whence Charles VIII. is driven out. There he found what has been always seen there, a strong hatred against the French and Germans, defiance and divisions between the several powers: but what is most to be remarked is, that he arrived there too weakly attended. He had but a thousand horse with him, and four or five thousand infantry: he looked rather like the pensioner of Louis: he wrote to the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Saluzzo, and to the duke of Modena, by their presence to assist at his coronation at Pavia, which all these lords refuse. Everything concurs to show him that he came too indifferently attended, and that Italy believed itself independent.

Is it the emperor's fault if he has so little credit in Italy? It appears not. The princes and diets of Germany furnish him scarcely any subsidies. He draws but little assistance from their territories. The Low Countries belong not to Maximilian, but to his son. The voyage to Italy was ruinous.

1497 — The feudal right is always the occasion of troubles. A diet at Worms having ordered a slight tax for the service of the empire, the Frieslanders refuse to pay it. They always pretend that they are not a fief of the empire. Maximilian sends the duke of Saxony, in quality of governor, to reduce the Frieslanders, a people poor and very fond of their liberties, descended of the ancient Saxons at Xeast, part of whom had fought Charlemagne. They defend themselves, but not so successfully as the Swiss.

1498 — Charles VIII. dies, and, in spite of his associations, in spite of treaties, Maximilian makes an irruption on the side of Burgundy, a fruitless irruption, after which they again enter into new treaties. Maximilian persists to reclaim all the succession of Mary of Burgundy for his son, Philip le Beau.

Louis XII. gives up many places to this young prince, who pays homage to the chancellor of France at Arras, for Charolais, Artois, and also Flanders, and they mutually agree to submit their pretensions on the duchy of Burgundy to the decision of the Parliament of Paris.

Maximilian treats with the Swiss, who are looked upon as invincible, in their own territories.

The ten united cantons form a league with the Grisons. Maximilian hopes to regain them by mildness. He writes them a soothing letter. The Swiss in their assembly at Zurich cry out that no confidence is to be placed in Maximilian.

1499 — The Austrians attack the Grisons. The Swiss defeat the Austrians, and support not only their own liberty, but that of their allies. The Austrians are again beaten in three battles. The emperor at length makes peace with the ten cantons as with a free people.

1500 — The imperial towns of Basel, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell join the Swiss union, which is composed of the thirteen cantons.

The aulic council, projected about this time by Maximilian. This is an image of the ancient tribunal which formerly accompanied the emperor. This chamber is approved by the states of the empire in the Diet of Augsburg. It is permitted to carry causes thither, as well as to the imperial chamber; but the aulic council, having more power, causes its decrees to be better executed, and becomes one of the greatest supports of the imperial power. The form of this chamber was not quite settled till the year 1512.

The empire is divided into six circles, in which the electoral territories are comprised as well as the rest of the empire; though this regulation had not yet

sufficient force till twelve years after the Diet of Cologne.

Charles V., born in the town of Ghent February 24, being St. Matthias' day. We have remarked this, because the day was always favorable to him. They forthwith give him the title of duke of Luxemburg.

Fortune begins to declare the very same year in favor of this child. Don Michael, the infant of Spain, dies, and the infanta Johanna, mother to the young prince, becomes presumptive heir to that monarchy.

About this time the new world was discovered, the fruits of which discovery Charles V. was one day to reap.

1501 — Maximilian had been the vassal of France for part of the succession of Burgundy. Louis XII. demands that he should be the same for the Milanese. He comes from conquering that province under Louis the Moor, uncle and feudatory of the emperor, without Maximilian's appearing in the least disturbed at the fate of a country so dear to all his predecessors.

Louis XII. had also conquered and divided the kingdoms of Naples, with Ferdinand, king of Aragon, without Maximilian's appearing any more disturbed.

Maximilian promises the investiture of Milan, upon condition that Madame Claudia, daughter of Louis XII. and of Anne of Brittany, should marry the young duke Charles of Luxemburg. He intends

declaring the Milanese a feminine fief. There are certainly, by nature, neither feminine fiefs nor masculine. Whether a daughter shall or shall not inherit, all that depends upon custom imperceptibly established.

Louis XII. ought certainly to regard the Milanese as a feminine fief in effect, because he had no other pretensions to it than in the right of a grandmother, Valentia Visconti. It was Maximilian's intention that the Milanese and Brittany should one day pass to his grandson, in which case Louis XII. had neither conquered nor married but for the advantage of the house of Austria.

The archduke Philip and his wife, Johanna, daughter to Ferdinand and Isabella, caused themselves to be acknowledged heirs to the kingdom of Spain. Philip there takes the title of prince of Asturias. Maximilian sees nothing but real grandeur for his posterity, and has scarcely anything for himself but titles; for he has but the shadow of power in Italy, and of precedency in Germany. He could carry his smallest designs into execution only by policy.

1503 — He endeavors ineffectually to make Austria an electorate. The electors continue to meet for two whole years to support their privileges. The extinction of the great fiefs in Germany awakens the attention of the German princes. The popes begin to form a temporal power, and Maximilian permits it.

Urbino, Camarino, and some other territories are forced from their new masters by one of Pope Alexander VI.'s bastards. That is the famous Cæsar Borgia, a deacon, an archbishop, and a secular prince. He employs more art in getting possession of seven or eight small towns than the Alexanders, the Genghises, and the Tamerlanes had shown in the conquest of Asia. His father, the pope, and himself thrive by the bowl and dagger; and the good king Louis XII. had been a long time in alliance with these two blood-stained men, because he stood in need of them. As for the emperor, he seemed entirely to have forgotten Italy.

The town of Lübeck declares war against Denmark. Lübeck seemed to be endeavoring at being in the north what Venice was in the Adriatic, and the troubles that reigned in Sweden and Denmark prevented its being crushed.

1504 — The quarrels of Denmark and Sweden have nothing to say to the history of the empire; but it ought not to be forgotten that the Swedes having chosen a governor, of whom King John of Denmark not approving, he condemned the senators of Sweden as rebels and traitors and remitted their sentence to the emperor for him to confirm it.

This King John had been elected king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; notwithstanding which, there was a necessity for an emperor whose power was very weak, to approve and confirm his sentence. This very King John, though with three

crowns, had very little power himself, especially in Sweden, from whence he had been driven out. But this kind of difference, of which from time to time we see examples, marks sufficiently the respect always paid to the empire. It was always addressed when there seemed to be a necessity for it, as the holy see was often solicited to strengthen uncertain rights. Maximilian nevertheless failed not to procure a proper respect to be paid to the rescripts of that authority, which they attributed to him. He commanded the states of Sweden to obey, threatening that he would otherwise proceed against them according to the rights of the empire.

This year a civil war sprang up between a branch of the palatine and the possessors of the house of Bavaria. The branch of the palatinate is at last condemned in the Diet of Augsburg. Yet this does not make the war the less. Unhappy constitution of a state, where the laws are without force! The branch of the palatine loses in this war more than one territory.

A treaty of a very singular nature is concluded at Blois, between the ambassadors of Maximilian and his son Philip on the one part, and the cardinal d'Amboise in the name of Louis XII., on the other.

This treaty confirms the alliance with the house of Austria, by which Louis XII. should be in reality invested with the duchy of Milan. But by which, if Louis XII. should break the marriage of Madame

Claudia with the archduke Charles of Luxemburg, the latter prince should have the duchy of Burgundy, the Milanese, and the county of Asti, by way of reparation: on the other hand, should the treaty be broken on the side of Maximilian, or of Philip, prince of Spain, father to the young archduke, the house of Austria should not only quit his pretensions on the duchy of Burgundy, but also on Artois, Charolais, and other territories. It is scarcely credible that such a treaty was serious. If Louis XII. should marry the princess, he must lose Brittany; if he broke the marriage, he was to lose Burgundy. Nothing else can be said in excuse of such promises than that there was no intention of keeping them. This was exchanging imprudence for ignominy.

1505 — Isabella, queen of Castile, dies, and by her will disinherits her kinsman, Philip, father of Charles of Luxemburg; and Charles is not to reign till the age of twenty. This was in order to preserve the kingdom of Castile to her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon.

The mother of Charles of Luxemburg, Johanna, daughter of Isabella, heiress of Castile, was, as it is well known, called Johanna the Foolish. She well deserved the title. An ambassador of Aragon comes to Brussels, and engages her to sign her mother's will.

1506 —An agreement between Ferdinand of Aragon and Philip. The latter consents to reign in

common with his wife and Ferdinand. In all public acts the name of Ferdinand was put first; after it that of Johanna and that of Philip — a sure way to confound three persons, as will appear in the sequel.

The states of France, in concert with Louis XII. and the cardinal d'Amboise, oppose the treaty, which gives Madame Claudia and Brittany to the house of Austria. They marry her to the presumptive heir of the crown, Count d'Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. Charles VIII. had gotten the wife of Maximilian, Francis I., the wife of Charles V.

While so many treaties were being made on this side the Alps; while Philip and Johanna were gone into Spain, and Maximilian kept fair on all sides, at the same time not getting the inheritance of Hungary out of his eye, the popes pursued their new design of establishing a great sovereignty by force of arms. Excommunications were weapons too much used. Pope Alexander VI. had begun, Julius II. finished it. He takes Bologna from the Bentivoglios, and Louis XII., or rather the cardinal d'Amboise, assists him therein.

He had already reunited to the fee of Rome, the territory which Cæsar Borgia had taken for himself. In effect Alexander VI. fought for his son, but Julius II. conquered for the see of Rome.

The titular king of Spain, Philip, dies at Burgos. On his death-bed he appoints Louis XII. guardian of his son Charles. This act was based on the

hatred he had for his step-father Ferdinand. And, in spite of their disagreement on account of Madame Claudia's marriage, he looked on Louis XII. to be a much honester man than Ferdinand the Catholic. A mighty religionist, but a most perfidious monarch! who had deceived the whole world, but above all his parents, and more particularly his kinsman.

1507 — A strange affair! The Low Countries refuse to acknowledge the emperor Maximilian for regent, during the minority of Charles. They say that Charles was a Frenchman, because he was born at Ghent, the capital of Flanders, during the time that his father paid homage to the king of France. Under this pretext, the seventeen provinces governed themselves for eighteen months, without Maximilian's being able to remedy the insult. There was no conquered country more free than the Low Countries at this day; England had not obtained nearly so much liberty.

1508 — A war against the members of the house of Guelders, who had been long since driven from their dominions, part of which having been recovered, they incessantly struggled for the rest, obliges the states at last to cede the regency to Maximilian, and Margaret of Austria, his favorite daughter is declared governess.

Maximilian intends to try if he can recover some credit in Italy, by getting himself crowned at Rome. The enterprise was difficult. The Venetians, now become more powerful than ever, haughtily declare

they would oppose his progress in Italy, if too strongly attended. The governor of Milan for Louis XII., joins the Venetians. Pope Julius II. tells him that he gives him the title of emperor, but that he does not advise him to go to Rome.

He advances towards Verona, in spite of the Venetians, who had not sufficiently guarded the passes. Here they keep their word with him, and force him to retire to Innsbruck.

The famous Venetian general, Alviano, entirely defeats the emperor's little army near the Trentin. The Venetians possess themselves of almost this whole province, and their fleet takes Trieste, capital of Istria, and other towns. Alviano enters Venice in triumph.

Maximilian then, as a last resource, sends a circular letter to all the states of the empire, enjoining them to give him the title of Roman Emperor elected; a title which his successors have ever since taken at their accession. Custom heretofore had given the name of emperor to those only who were crowned at Rome.

1509—The empire at that time had no footing in Italy, where there were no more than two great powers, and many small ones. Louis XII. on the one side, master of the Milanese and of Genoa, who having a free communication by Provence, threatened the kingdom of Naples, heretofore imprudently divided with Ferdinand of Aragon, who took everything to himself with that perfidy which is usually

called policy. The other new power was Venice, the rampart of Christianity against the infidels; a rampart broken indeed in a hundred places, yet still making some resistance by the towns that remained to them in Greece, by the isles of Candia, Cyprus, and Dalmatia. Besides, she was not always at war with the Ottoman empire, and gained more by her commerce with the Turks than she lost by her possessions.

Her dominions on the earth began to be something. She had seized on Faenza, Rimini, Ceseno, some territories belonging to Ferrara, and the duchy of Urbino, after the death of Alexander VI. They possessed Ravenna, and justified most of these acquisitions, because, that having assisted the houses dispossessed by Alexander VI. in the recovery of their dominions, these territories were awarded to them as their recompense. The Venetians had for a long time possessed Padua, Verona, Vicenza, the marquisate of Trevisa, and Frionia. They had near the Milanese, Bressia, and Bergamo. Francis Sforza had given them Crema, Louis XII. had ceded to them Cremona and Guiara d'Adda.

All this did not compose in Italy a state so very formidable, that Europe should fear the Venetians as conquerors. The real power of Venice was in St. Mark's treasury. It was there they had wherewith to retain an emperor and a king of France.

In the month of April, 1509, Louis XII. marches against his old allies the Venetians, at the head of

fifteen thousand horse, twelve thousand French infantry, and eight thousand Swiss. The emperor advances against them on the side of Istria and Friuli. Julius II., the first warlike pope, enters the towns of Romagna at the head of ten thousand men.

Ferdinand of Aragon, as king of Naples, declares also against the Venetians, because that they held some ports in the kingdom of Naples, on account of some money which they had formerly lent on them.

The King of Hungary also declares against them in hopes of having Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy having some pretensions on the kingdom of Cyprus, gives also a helping hand to the enterprise. The duke of Ferrara, a vassal of the holy see, also joins in it. In fine, so far from attacking the great Turk, the whole continent of Europe joins at once to oppress the Venetians.

Pope Julius II. was the first promoter of this singular league, of the strong against the weak, so well known by the name of the League of Cambray. And he who would have shut strangers out of Italy forever, floods the whole country with them.

Louis XII. has the misfortune to beat the Venetians completely, in the battle of Guiara d'Adda. This was not very difficult. The mercenary soldiers of Venice could hold out against the other sovereigns of Italy, but not against the French gendarmes. The misfortune of Louis XII. in beating the Venetians was, that he labored for the emperor. Master as he was of Genoa and Italy, no more

remained to prevent the Germans ever entering Italy, than for him to have joined the Venetians.

The fear of the power of Venice was badly founded. Venice was only rich, and they must shut their eyes not to see that the new channels of commerce by the Cape of Good Hope and the American seas, would finish the sources of the Venetian power. Louis XII. had received from Maximilian one hundred thousand golden crowns for joining this league, without which the emperor could not possibly have marched towards the Alps.

June 14, 1509, the emperor gives the investiture of the Milanese to Cardinal d'Amboise, who receives it for Louis XII., in the town of Trent. The emperor not only gives this duchy to the king, but in default of his issue to Count d'Angoulême, Francis I. This was the price of the ruin of Venice.

Maximilian received for this grant sixty thousand golden crowns. Thus, for three ages past, had everything been sold. Louis XII. might have employed this money to settle himself in Italy; and he returns to France, after having reduced Venice almost to her islands.

The emperor then advances on the side of Friuli, and reaps all the fruits of the French victory. But Venice, during the absence of Louis XII., acquires new courage, and her money procures her new armies. She forces the emperor to raise the siege of Padua, and, by giving up everything that he asks,

concludes a treaty with the promoter of the league, Julius II.

The principal design of Julius II. was to drive the Barbarians out of Italy, and rid it at once of the French and the Germans. The popes had formerly called in these nations to support him, one against the other, and vice versa. Julius, by repairing the faults of his predecessors, by delivering Italy, and strengthening himself, sought an immortal name. Maximilian refuses to aid Julius in driving out the French.

1510—Julius II. at length makes his own use of the Swiss, whom he arouses against Louis XII., as also old Ferdinand, king of Aragon and of Naples. He endeavors to procure a peace between the emperor and Venice; and, at the same time, devises the seizing of Ferrara, Bologna, Ravenna, Parma, and Placentia.

A great diet is held at Augsburg, in the midst of so many different interests. Here they debate whether Maximilian shall give peace to Venice. Here they confirm the liberty of the town of Hamburg, which had been long disputed by Denmark.

Maximilian and Louis XII. are again united, that is to say, Louis XII. assists the emperor in pursuing the Venetians, and the emperor does not in the least contribute to preserve to Louis, Milan and Genoa, whence the pope endeavors to drive him out.

Julius II. at length gives the investiture of Naples to Ferdinand, king of Aragon, though he had

promised it to Louis XII. Ferdinand, already master of Naples, stood in no need of this ceremony; but then it cost him seven thousand crowns rent, whereas formerly forty-eight thousand used to be paid to the holy see.

1511 —Julius II. declares war against the king of France, who begins to have very little power in Italy. This warlike pope intends the conquest of Ferrara, belonging to Alphonso d'Este, an ally of France. He takes Mirandola and Concordia in his march, and gives them to the house of Mirandola, but as fiefs of the holy see. These are but trivial wars; but certainly Julius II. had more policy than his predecessors; since he found the art of making them in some measure profitable, while all the victories of the French were of very little service to them, since they could not enable them to curb the enterprises of the pope.

Julius II. gives up Modena, of which he had been some time possessed, to the emperor; and he only parts with it for fear that the troops which the king of France had in the Milanese should have besieged it.

1512 —The pope at length prevails on Maximilian secretly to sign a treaty with King Ferdinand and him against France. These are fruits that Louis XII. gathers from his league of Cambray, and so much money given to the emperor.

Julius II., who intended chasing the Barbarians out of Italy, instead of it introduces, all at once, the

Swiss, the Aragonese, and the Germans. Gaston de Foix, nephew to Louis XII., governor of Milan, a young prince, who acquires great glory and reputation, by supporting himself with a very small army, defeats the allies at the battle of Ravenna, but is killed in the victory, and, by that means, the fruits of it are lost. Such, almost always has been the fate of the French in Italy. They lose the Milanese after that famous battle of Ravenna, which, at another time, had given them the empire of Italy. Pavia is almost the only place that remains to them.

The Swiss who, excited by the pope, had made a hand of this resolution, receive from his holiness, instead of money, the titles of Defenders of the Holy See.

Maximilian, in the meantime, continues the war against the Venetians; but these rich republicans make a good defence, and daily repair their former losses.

The emperor and the pope incessantly treat. And it is in this very year that Maximilian offers himself to the pope, to accept him as coadjutor in the popedom. He sees no other way of re-establishing the imperial dignity in Italy, and, from this view, he sometimes assumes the title of *Pontifex Maximus,* in imitation of the Roman emperors. His being a layman was no exclusion from the papacy, it being justified by the example of Amadeus of Savoy. The pope having disappointed him in his views of being

coadjutor to him, Maximilian begins to devise the succeeding him; for which purpose he gains some cardinals, and endeavors to borrow money to purchase the remaining votes at the death of Julius, which he imagines very near. His famous letter to the archduchess Margaret, his daughter, is a testimony of this, the original being still to be seen.

The investiture of the duchy of Milan, which three years before had cost Louis XII. one hundred and sixty thousand golden crowns, is given to Maximilian Sforza, at a much easier rate — to the son of that Louis the Moor, whom Louis XII. had kept so harshly, yet so justly, in prison. The same Swiss who had betrayed Louis the Moor to Louis XII., brings his son back in triumph to Milan.

Pope Julius II. dies, after having laid the certain foundation of the pope's temporal grandeur; but as for his spiritual, it daily diminishes. The temporal grandeur might have formed the equilibrium of Italy; yet it has not. The reason of this is the weakness of a sacerdotal government and the nepotism.

1513 —A war breaks out between Denmark and the Hanse towns, Lübeck, Dantzic, Wismar, and Riga. There were many examples of this kind, which we shall not see in these days. The towns are beaten, and the princes get the better in almost all parts of Europe; so very hard is it to preserve true liberty!

Leo X., less warlike than Julius, but not less

enterprising, more cunning but less capable, forms a league against Louis XII., with the emperor, with Henry VIII., king of England, and old Ferdinand of Aragon. This league was concluded at Mechlin on April 5, by the care of that Margaret of Austria, governess of the Low Countries, who had made the league of Cambray.

The emperor was to possess himself of Burgundy, the pope of Provence, the king of England of Normandy, the king of Aragon of Guienne. This last had lately usurped Navarre from John d'Albret, by means of a papal bull, seconded by an army. Thus do the popes, always weak, give kingdoms to the strongest. Thus rapaciousness always acts by the hands of religion. Louis XII. at length unites with those very Venetians he had before so imprudently lost. The papal league is broken almost as soon as formed. Maximilian only gets some money from Henry VIII. It was all that he wanted. What weakness! what knavery! what cruelty! what inconstancy! what rapacity is manifested in all these great affairs!

Louis XII. vainly attempts to recover the Milanese. La Trimouille marches thither with a few troops. He is defeated at Novara by the Swiss, and begins to be doubtful whether the Swiss do not intend to take Milan themselves. Milan and Genoa, as well as Naples, are lost to France.

The Venetians, who formerly had in Louis XII. a terrible and imprudent enemy, have now only a

useless ally in him. The Spaniards of Naples declare against them, and beat their famous general Alviano, as Louis XII. had before beaten them. Henry VIII. of England is the only one of all the princes who signed the league of Mechlin against France, that keeps his word. He embarks with the preparations and hope of an Edward III., or an Henry V.

Maximilian, who had promised him an army, follows the king of England as a volunteer, and Henry VIII. gives one hundred crowns a day, as pay, to that successor of the Cæsars, who would have set himself up for pope. He is present at that victory which Henry gains in the new battle of Guinegate, called the Battle of the Spurs, being the very same place in which he himself had won a battle in his youth.

Maximilian is afterwards paid a very considerable sum. He receives two hundred thousand crowns to make war in reality. France, thus attacked by a young and powerful king, was certainly, after the loss of her men and money in Italy, in imminent danger.

Maximilian, nevertheless, with part of Henry's money, procures the Swiss to attack Burgundy. Ulric, duke of Würtemberg, here leads the German cavalry. Dijon is besieged. Louis XII. loses Burgundy, after the Milanese, all by the hands of the Swiss. Nor can La Trimouille oblige them to retire, without promising them, in the name of his master,

four hundred thousand crowns. What are the vicissitudes of this world! what may we not hope for, what have we not to fear! since we see the Swiss, their hands still reeking with blood, shed in defence of their liberty against the house of Austria, now arming in defence of that house, and even the Hollanders preparing to do the same.

1514 — Maximilian, seconded by the Spaniards, continues the war against the Venetians. This was all that remained of the old league of Cambray, the principle and object of which were now changed; and the French, who had been formerly the heroes, were at length become the victims of it.

Louis XII., driven out of Italy, menaced by Ferdinand of Aragon, beaten and abused by his subjects, vanquished by Henry VIII., of England, who revives the claims of his ancestors upon France, has no other resource than that of marrying Mary, sister of Henry VIII., for his second wife.

This very Mary had been promised to Charles of Luxemburg. It seems to have been the luck of France to carry off all the women promised to the house of Austria.

1515 —The great point at which Maximilian always aims, is establishing his house. He concludes a marriage between Louis, prince of Hungary and Bohemia, and his granddaughter, Mary of Austria, as well as between the princess Ann of Hungary, and one of his grandsons, Charles or

Ferdinand, who were afterwards successively emperors.

This is the first contract whereby a girl is promised to either one husband or another, as her parents shall think proper. Maximilian does not forget to mention, in this contract, that his house shall inherit Hungary, according to the ancient conventions between the houses of Hungary and Bohemia. Nevertheless, these two kingdoms have been always elective, which does not at all agree with conventions of this nature, because the votes of the nation are necessary to support the Austrian authority.

Charles being declared of age at fifteen, pays homage to the king of France, Francis I., for Flanders, the Artois, and Charolais. Henry of Nassau takes the oath of fidelity in the name of Charles.

Another new marriage is proposed for the archduke Charles. Francis I. promised him Madame Raignier, his step-sister; but this appearance of union covers an insatiable discord.

The duchy of Milan is still the object of the ambition of Francis I., as it had been of Louis XII. He also, like his predecessor, begins by an alliance with the Venetians, and buys victories.

After the battle of Marignan, he takes all the Milanese in one campaign. Maximilian Sforza retires to live privately in France, upon a pension of thirty thousand crowns. Francis I. obliges Pope Leo X. to give up Parma and Placentia. He makes him promise to surrender Modena and Reggio to

the duke of Ferrara. He concludes a peace with the Swiss, whom he had defeated, and thus in one campaign becomes arbitrator of Italy. Thus the French always begin.

Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, grandfather to Charles V., dies January 23, after having prepared much glory for his grandson, whom he very little regarded.

The success of Francis I. revives Maximilian. He raises troops in Germany, with the money which Ferdinand had sent him before his death: for the states of the empire never furnished him with any money to carry on the quarrels in Italy. At length Leo X. breaks the treaties which he had been forced to make with Francis I., pays no regard to any of his promises; neither does he surrender Modena, Reggio, Parma, nor Placentia; so much had the popes always at heart the great design of keeping strangers out of Italy; of making them destroy one another; and of acquiring, by that expedient, a right over the Italian liberty, of which they were the avengers; glorious design, worthy of ancient Rome to attempt, not in the power of modern Rome to accomplish.

The emperor Maximilian descends by the Trentine, besieges Milan with fifteen thousand Swiss; but this prince, who was always raising money, and always wanting it, not paying his Swiss regularly, they mutinied. The emperor, fearing to be stopped by them, secures himself by flight. Here then you

see the last efforts of the famous League of Cambray, which had stripped Louis XII., and obliged an emperor to fly, for fear of being imprisoned by his hirelings.

He proposes to Henry VIII., king of England, to cede him the empire and the duchy of Milan, merely with a view of extorting money from him; a circumstance almost incredible, had it not been attested by letter under Henry's hand.

Another marriage is again stipulated with the archduke Charles, now king of Spain. Never had a prince been promised to so many wives without having gotten one. Francis I. gives him his daughter Louisa, aged one year.

This marriage, which turned out no better than the others, is stipulated in the Treaty of Noyon. This treaty directs, that Charles shall do justice to the house of Navarre, stripped by Ferdinand the Catholic; and that he should engage the emperor his grandfather, to make peace with the Venetians. This treaty is no better executed than the marriage, although it should have brought into the emperor's treasury two hundred thousand ducats, which the Venetians were to have paid him. Francis I. was also to give Charles one hundred thousand crowns a year, until he had full possession of the kingdom of Spain. Nothing is more trifling nor more whimsical. One would imagine them gamesters endeavoring to deceive each other.

Immediately after this treaty the emperor makes

another with his grandson Charles, and the king of England against France.

1517 — Charles passes into Spain. He is acknowledged king of Castile, jointly with Johanna his mother.

1518 — Pope Leo X. has two great projects on the anvil; that of arming the Christian princes against the Turks, who were now become more formidable than ever, under Sultan Selim II., conqueror of Egypt; the other was to embellish Rome, and finish the basilica of St. Peter, begun by Julius II., and absolutely one of the finest monuments of architecture ever made by men.

He thought it would be allowed him to drain the money of Christianity by the sale of indulgences. These indulgences were originally exemptions from certain imposts, granted either by the emperors, or by the governors to certain countries that had been oppressed.

The popes, and also some bishops, had applied these temporal indulgences to spiritual affairs, but in a very contrary manner.

The indulgences of the emperors were exemptions of the people, those of the popes were taxes on them; much more so since the belief of purgatory had become generally established, and that the vulgar, who are, in every country, at least eighteen out of twenty, led into a persuasion, that by obtaining a bit of paper at a very trifling price, they buy off years of punishment. A public sale of this kind is

one of those ridiculous affairs, which people of the least sense in these times never think of. But then one ought no more to be surprised at it, than the people of the East to see the Bonzes and Talapoins sell a remission of all sin for a sixth part of a farthing.

There are everywhere offices of indulgence, where they are leased out as the rights of entries and exits. Most of these offices were held in houses of entertainment. The preacher, the farmer, the distributor, were all gainers. Hitherto all was carried on very peaceably. In Germany the Augustines, who had been long in possession of the farming of these follies, became jealous of the Dominicans, to whom this liberty was granted, and this was the first part of the quarrel that inflamed all Europe.

This revolution was begun by the son of a blacksmith, born at Eisleben. This was Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, employed by his superiors to preach against a merchandise which they had no longer the vending of. The quarrel was at first between the Augustines and the Dominicans; but Luther, after having decried indulgences, began to examine into the power of him who granted them to Christians. A corner of the veil was here lifted up. The people, once spirited, began to judge that which they adored. Luther is openly protected by Frederick, the old elector of Saxony, surnamed the Wise, he who, after the death of Maximilian, had the courage to refuse the empire. The doctrine

of this monk was as yet neither firm nor confined. He contented himself, in the beginning, with saying that the communion ought to be administered in common bread and wine: that sin remained in the infant after baptism: that auricular confession was really useless: that neither popes nor councils could make articles of faith; that purgatory could not be proved by the canonical books: that monastic vows were an abuse; and that all princes ought to unite in abolishing the mendicant friars.

Duke Frederick, elector of Saxony, as we have already said, was the protector of Luther and of his doctrine. It is reported that this prince had sufficient religion to constitute a Christian; sufficient reason to see the abuses of it; and a strong desire to reform them—perhaps much rather with a view of dividing the immense wealth which the clergy possessed in Saxony. He did not imagine then that he labored for his enemies, and that the rich archduchy of Magdeburg would fall to the house of Brandenburg, already become his rival.

1519 — While Luther, cited to the Diet at Augsburg, withdraws himself, after having made his appearance, summons a future council, and prepares without knowing it, one of the greatest revolutions that ever was made in the Christian church, since the extinction of Paganism; the emperor Maximilian, who had been already forgotten, dies at Innsbruck on January 12, of a surfeit of melons.

There being an interregnum to Oct. 1, 1520, the

electors of Saxony and the palatinate jointly govern the empire, to the day of the emperor-elect's coronation.

Francis I., king of France, and Charles of Austria, king of Spain, put in for the imperial crown. Either one or the other had it in his power to revive at least some shadow of the Roman Empire. The neighborhood of the Turks, already become very formidable, put the electors under the dangerous necessity of choosing a puissant emperor. Christianity required that either Francis or Charles should be elected; but it was the interest of Pope Leo X., that neither one nor the other should be put in the road of being his master. Charles, Francis, the great Turk, and Luther, were all of them objects equally, at that time, to influence the pope with fear.

Leo. X. crosses, as much as possible, the two competitors. Seven great princes were, at the most critical juncture, to dispose of the foremost place in Europe, and votes are, nevertheless, bought. In the midst of these intrigues, and during this interregnum, the ancient and modern laws of Germany are not without their force. The Germans teach princes that great and useful lesson, of not abusing their power. The league of Suabia renders itself praiseworthy by making war on Duke Ulric of Würtemberg, who oppressed his vassals.

This league of Suabia is really established for the public good. It obliges the duke to abandon his territories, but afterwards sells them for a scandal-

ous price to Charles of Austria. Then everything is done for money! how comes it that Charles, ready to mount the imperial throne, thus plunders such a house, and purchases, for a very trifle, the estate of another?

Leo X. attempts governing despotically in Tuscany. The electors meet at Frankfort. Can it be true, that they offer the imperial crown to Frederick, surnamed the Wise, elector of Saxony, the great protector of Luther? was he solemnly elected? No. In what then consists his refusal? In this: that his character had made him the object of public election, he having before given his interest to Charles, and his recommendation influencing the other votes, Charles V. is unanimously elected on June 28, 1519.

CHARLES V.

FORTY-FIRST EMPEROR.

This year is that of the first capitulation drawn up for the emperor. It was before this sufficient they took an oath of fidelity at their coronation. An oath void of justice opens a passage to injustice. There ought to be a stronger bulwark against the abuse of authority of a prince so powerful in himself.

By this certain contract of the sovereign with the constituents, the emperor promises, that if he has any estates to which he shall appear not properly

entitled, he will give them up at the first intimation of the electors. This is promising a great deal.

Some considerable authors pretend, that they swore him also to a constant residence in Germany; but the capitulation expressly says: "that he shall reside there as long as he possibly can." To exact a piece of injustice, gives too much pretext for neglecting the execution of that which is just.

The day of the election of Charles V. is marked by a battle between a bishop of Hildesheim and a duke of Brunswick, in the duchy of Lüneburg. They dispute about a fief, and in spite of the establishment of the *Austrègues,* of the imperial chamber, and the aulic council, in spite of the authority of the two vicars of the empire, there are bloody engagements almost daily, for the most trifling matters, between the bishops, the princes, and the barons. Some laws, indeed, subsisted, at that time, in Germany; but the coercive, which is the chief power of laws, was wanting.

The news of Charles's election is carried to him in Spain by the elector palatine. The grandees of Spain at that time reckoned themselves equal to electors; the peers of France rank above them; and the cardinals take the right hand of both.

Spain, fearing to become a province of the empire, Charles is obliged to declare that kingdom independent. He goes to Germany; but first makes a voyage to England, even so early to engage in a league with Henry VIII. against Francis I. He is crowned at

Aix-la-Chapelle, Oct. 23, 1520. At the time of the accession of Charles V. to the empire, Europe insensibly assumes a new aspect. The Ottoman power fixes itself at Constantinople on a foundation not to be overturned.

The emperor, king of the Two Sicilies, and of Spain, prepares to form a league against the Turks. The Venetians, at the same time, stand in awe of the sultan and emperor.

Pope Leo X. is master of only a trifling territory, and already finds one-half of Europe endeavoring to escape from his spiritual authority; for, about the year 1520, from the extremity of the North, all the way to France, the people were revolting both against the abuse of the Roman Church, and against its laws.

Francis I., king of France, rather a brave soldier than a great prince, had more desire than he had power to pull down Charles V. Had his prudence and his strength been equal, how could they have succeeded against an emperor, king of Spain and Naples, sovereign of the Low Countries, whose frontiers extended even to the gates of Amiens, and into whose ports of Spain the treasures of a new-found world began already to be poured.

Henry VIII., king of England, pretends at length to hold the balance between Charles V. and Francis I.— a great example of what the courage of the English, assisted by the riches of their commerce, was able to do. In this review of Europe it is

observable that Henry VIII., one of the principal personages, was one of the greatest scourges the earth ever felt; absolute even to brutality; furious in his anger; barbarous in his amours; a murderer of his wives; and a tyrant as capricious in the government of his kingdom, as in the management of religion: yet did he die in his bed; and Mary Stuart, who had only a criminal weakness, and Charles I., who could be reproached with nothing but goodness, died upon the scaffold.

A king still wickeder than Henry VIII., that is Christian II., after reuniting to his power Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, a monster always stained with blood, and surnamed the Nero of the North, yet at last is punished for all his crimes; although the brother of Christian V. is dethroned, and dies in prison in old age, the object of contempt and detestation.

Thus have I drawn, in miniature, the principal Christian princes who made a figure in Europe, when Charles V. took the reins of the empire.

Sciences flourished at that time in Italy more than ever. But she was never more distant from that great end proposed by Julius II., of driving the Barbarians out of Italy. The European powers were almost always at war; but happily for the people, the little armies, which were raised for a time, returned afterwards to the cultivation of the earth; and in the midst of the most obstinate disputes, Europe had not above one-fifth of the soldiers which

she now maintains in times of profound peace. They knew nothing of that continual and dreadful effort which consumes the substance of a government in always keeping on foot those numerous armies, which in time of peace can only be employed against the people, and may one day become fatal to their masters.

The principal force of the Christian armies consisted always in cavalry: foot was generally despised: therefore the Germans called them *Lands-Knechte,* tillers of the earth. The janissaries were the only formidable infantry.

France almost always made use of foreign infantry. The Swiss as yet made no other use of their liberty than to sell their blood, and he generally believed himself sure of victory in whose army there was the greatest number of Swiss. They preserved this reputation until the battle of Marignan, where Francis I. defeated them with his cavalry, when he first attempted an invasion of Italy.

War began to grow more an art under Charles V. than it had ever been before. His great successes; the progress of science in Italy; the reformation, in point of religion, of one-half of Europe; commerce opened with India by the ocean, and the conquests of Mexico and Peru, will make this age eternally memorable.

1521 —A diet at Worms, famous for re-establish-

ing the imperial chamber, which no longer subsisted but in name.

Charles V. establishes two vicars, not of the empire, but of the emperor. The vicars of the empire are Saxony and the palatine, whose decrees are irrevocable. The vicars of the emperor are governors accountable only to the sovereign. These governors were his brother Ferdinand, to whom he had given his possessions in Austria, the count palatine, with twenty-two assistants.

This diet summons to appear before them the dukes of Brunswick and of Lüneburg on the one part, and the bishops of Hildesheim and of Minden on the other, who maintained a continual war on each other. They despise their decree, and are put under the ban of the empire, which they also hold in contempt, persisting in mutual hostility. The power of Charles V. is not yet sufficiently strong to give force to his laws. Two bishops, armed and rebellious, dispose the people very much, not only against the Church, but its possessions.

Luther comes to this diet with a protection from the emperor; nor does he fear the fate of John Huss. The priests were not the strongest party in this diet. They confer with him; but neither side rightly understands the other, so that they agree on nothing, and let him return in peace to Saxony to destroy the Roman religion. On May 6, the emperor publishes an edict against Luther in his absence, enjoining, under pain of disobedience, every prince and sover-

eignty of the empire to imprison him and his adherents. This proclamation was levelled at the duke of Saxony, who, it was well known, would not obey it. But the emperor, who had united with Leo X. against Francis I., was willing to appear as a Catholic.

He attempts in this diet to form an alliance between the empire and the king of Denmark, Christian II., his brother-in-law, assuring him of succor. Sentiments of horror against tyranny are always predominant in general assemblies; the enthusiasm of virtue must communicate itself, and the cries of nature will be heard. The whole diet exclaims against an alliance with a villain, contaminated with the blood of ninety-four senators butchered before his eyes by the common executioners in Stockholm, afterwards delivered up to be plundered. It is pretended that Charles V. had in view the securing to himself the three Northern crowns, in aiding his unworthy brother.

The same year, Pope Leo X., more cunning perhaps than wise, and finding that between Francis I. and Charles V., he should be only involved, makes, almost at the same time, a treaty with each; the first in 1520, with Francis I., to whom he promises the kingdom of Naples, reserving to himself Gaeta, and this by virtue of that chimerical law, that a king of Naples can never be emperor. His second treaty was in 1521 with Charles V., to drive the French out of Italy, and give the Milanese to Fran-

cis Sforza, a younger son of Louis the Moor, and above all, to obtain for the holy see Ferrara, of which they always attempt to deprive the house of Este.

The first hostility that engages the empire against France, is this: The duke of Bouillon, Robert de la Mark, sovereign of the castle of Bouillon, solemnly declares war by a herald against Charles V. and ravages Luxemburg. It is well known that he was stirred up by Francis I., who in public denied it.

Charles, united with Henry VIII. and Pope Leo X., makes war on Francis I., on the side of Picardy, and towards the Milanese. In 1520 it had been already begun in Spain; but Spain is but an appendix to the annals of the empire.

Lautrec, governor for the king of France in the Milanese, a very unfortunate general, because he is rash and imprudent, is driven out of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Parma, and Placentia, by Prospero di Colonna.

Leo X. dies on December 2. George, marquis de Malaspina, attached to France, and supposed to have poisoned the pope, is arrested, and clears himself of a crime it would have been very hard to prove. This pope had twelve thousand Swiss at his command.

Cardinal Wolsey, tyrant of Henry VIII., who was the tyrant of England, has a mind to be pope. Charles V. dupes him, and manifests his power by giving the papacy to his preceptor Adrian, a native of Utrecht, and then regent of Spain.

Adrian is elected on January 9, and preserves his name, notwithstanding the established custom of the eleventh century. The emperor absolutely governs the papacy. The old league of the towns of Suabia is confirmed at Ulm for eleven years. The emperor has some reason to fear it, but he inclines to please the Germans.

1522 — Charles again repairs to England. He receives at Windsor the order of the garter, and promises to marry his cousin Mary, daughter to his aunt, Catherine of Aragon, and Henry VIII., she who was afterwards married to his son Philip. He submits, by an astonishing clause, in case he should not marry this princess, to forfeit five hundred thousand crowns. This is the fifth time of his having been promised, without being once married. He divides France already in imagination with Henry VIII., who begins to think of reviving the pretension of his ancestors on that kingdom.

The emperor borrows money of the king of England. Here the enigma of his forfeiting five hundred thousand crowns is explained. This money lent is to serve one day as a portion, and this singular forfeiture is required of Henry VIII. as a sort of security. The emperor gives the prime minister, Cardinal Wolsey, pensions, which do not recompense him for the loss of the papacy. Why is the most powerful emperor that has been seen since the days of Charlemagne obliged, Maximilian-like, to borrow money of Henry VIII.? He makes war on

the side of the Pyrenean mountains, of Picardy, and in Italy, all at the same time. Germany bears no part in his expense; Spain very little; the mines of Mexico furnish yet no regular produce; the expenses of his coronation, and his first establishments of every kind, were immense.

Charles V. is everywhere successful. Cremona and Lodi are all that remain to Francis I. in the Milanese. Genoa, which he had hitherto possessed, is taken from him by the Imperialists. The emperor allows Francis Sforza, the last prince of that race, to enter Milan.

But in the meantime the Ottoman power threatens Germany. The Turks are in Hungary. Solyman, as formidable as Selim and Mahomet II. had been, takes Belgrade, and thence proceeds to the siege of Rhodes, which capitulates in about three months.

This year is pregnant with great events. The states of Denmark solemnly depose their tyrant Christian, whom they look on as a criminal, and imagine they do him a kindness in confining themselves barely to deposing him. Gustavus Vasa banishes the Catholic religion in Sweden. All the North, even to the Weser, is ready to follow this example.

1523.—While a controversial war threatens Germany with a revolution, and while Solyman menaces Christianity in Europe, the quarrels between Charles V. and Francis I. occasion new misfortunes to Italy and France.

Charles V. and Henry VIII., in order to crush Francis I., engage in their cause the constable of Bourbon, who, excited by ambition and revenge, rather than by patriotic love of his country, undertakes to cause a diversion in the heart of France, as soon as the enemies of Francis shall attack his frontiers. They promise him in marriage Eleonor, sister to Charles V., widow of the king of Portugal, and, what is still more essential, Provence, with other territories, which they are to erect into a kingdom.

To give the last stroke to France, the emperor enters into alliance with the Venetians, Pope Adrian, and the Florentines. Duke Francis Sforza remains possessed of Milan, which is wrested from Francis I. But the emperor does not yet acknowledge Sforza to be duke of Milan: and defers deciding on that province, until he shall become so absolutely master of it, that the French can have no more pretension.

The imperial troops enter Champagne. The treachery of the constable of Bourbon being discovered, he is obliged to fly, and goes to command for the emperor in Italy.

In the midst of these great troubles a trivial war breaks out between the electors of Trier and the noblesse of Alsace, which appears like a small vortex moving within a great one. Charles V. is too much engrossed with ruminating on his vast designs, and his variety of interests, to attend to the pacifying these transitory quarrels.

Clement VII. succeeds Adrian November 29. He was of the house of Medici. His papacy will be eternally remarkable for his unfortunate connections; for that weakness which at length caused the destruction of Rome, sacked by the army of Charles V.; it will be always distinguished by the loss of the Florentine liberty, and by the irrevocable defection of England, torn from the Roman Church.

1524.—The first step of Clement VII. is the sending a legate to the diet at Nuremberg, in order to engage Germany to arm against Solyman, and to answer a writing entitled "The Hundred Complaints against the Court of Rome." He succeeds in neither one nor the other.

It was not at all extraordinary that Adrian, the preceptor, and afterwards the minister of Charles V., a man born with the genius of a subaltern, should enter into a league which must render the emperor absolute master of Italy, and soon of all Europe. Clement VII. had nevertheless sufficient courage to detach himself from this league, in hopes to hold an equal balance.

There was at that time a man of the same family, who was indeed a great man. This was John de Medici, Charles V.'s general. He commanded for the emperor in Italy, together with the constable of Bourbon. It was he that in this year completed the driving the French out of that little part of the Milanese which they still possessed; who beat Boni-

vet at Biagrassa, where the famous chevalier Bayard lost his life.

The Marquis de Pescara, whom the French call Pescaire, a noble rival to John de Medici, marches into Provence with the duke of Bourbon: the latter determines on the siege of Marseilles, in spite of Pescara, and the enterprise miscarries; but Provence is ravaged.

Francis I., when he ought to have assembled an army, pursues the Imperialists, who withdraw: he passes the Alps: he, to his misfortune, enters that duchy of Milan, which had been so often won and lost. The house of Savoy was not yet sufficiently strong to stop the progress of the French arms.

At that time the ancient papal policy displayed itself; and the fear which a powerful emperor inspired, makes Clement VII. an ally to Francis I., to whom he offers the kingdom of Naples. Francis marches thither a large detachment of his army: thus, by dividing his forces, he weakens himself, and prepares inevitable misfortunes for himself and Rome.

1525—The king of France besieges Pavia. The Count de Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, Pescara, and Bourbon, endeavors to raise the siege by forcing a passage at Mirabel Park, where Francis I. was posted. The French artillery alone put the Imperialists to the rout. The king of France ought not to have moved, and he was beaten. He engages in the pursuit, and is entirely defeated. The Swiss, who

made up the force of his infantry, abandoned him and fled, and he was not persuaded of the ill consequences of having an entirely mercenary body of infantry, nor of having relied too much on his own courage, until he fell a captive into the hands of the Imperialists, and that of Bourbon, whom he had abused and forced into rebellion.

Charles V. received the news of his excessive good fortune at Madrid, where he still was, and dissembled his joy. They send him his prisoner. He then appears absolute master of Europe, and had been so effectually, had he pursued his fortune at the head of fifty thousand men, instead of remaining at Madrid. But his successes raised him enemies, and the more so, since he, who passed for one of the most active princes, did not make a proper use of them.

Cardinal Wolsey, who was out of humor with the emperor, instead of persuading Henry VIII., whom he governed, to enter France, then abandoned, and an easy prey, engages him to declare against Charles V., thereby seizing that balance which had escaped the feeble hands of Clement VII. Bourbon, whom Charles flattered with the hopes of a kingdom, made up of Provence, Dauphiny, and the estate of the constable, is as yet no more than governor of the Milanese.

One must necessarily believe that Charles V. had some secret weighty engagements in Spain, since at that critical time he neither entered France,

entirely open to invasion, nor Italy, which to him might have been an easy conquest, nor yet Germany, where new disputes, and the love of independency created fresh troubles.

The different sectaries knew very well what they would not believe, but did not know what they would believe. All agreed in exclaiming against the abuses of the court of Rome and its church, and they introduced other abuses. Melancthon opposes Luther on some articles.

Storch, a native of Silesia, goes farther than Luther had done. He is the founder of the sect of Anabaptists, whose apostle is Münzer. They both preach, sword in hand. Luther began with engaging the princes in his party. Münzer established his among the people of the country, whom he soothed and spirited with a notion of equality, nature's primitive law, which had been destroyed by force and associations. The first fury of the peasants displayed itself in Suabia, where they were greater slaves than elsewhere. Münzer goes to Thuringia, and there, whilst he preaches equality, makes himself master of Mülhausen, and, whilst he preaches up disinterestedness, causes the wealth of the inhabitants to be laid at his feet. All the peasants rise in Suabia, Franconia, in part of Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alsace.

Indeed, these sort of savages draw up a manifesto which a Lycurgus would have signed. They insist "upon paying only the tithes of their corn,

which shall be employed to relieve the poor; that they shall have free liberty of water and chase; that they shall be allowed wood to build cabins, to defend them against the cold; and that their daily labor shall be lessened." They lay claim to the rights of human nature, but they support them like wild beasts. They massacre all the gentlemen they meet. A natural son of the emperor has his throat cut.

It is very remarkable that these peasants at last set a gentleman at their head, like the revolted slaves mentioned in antiquity, who, finding themselves incapable of governing, chose for their king the only master that had escaped the slaughter.

They seize on Heilbronn, Spires, Würzburg, and the countries round these towns.

Münzer and Storch lead the army in quality of prophets. The old elector of Saxony, Frederick, engages in a bloody battle with them near Frankhausen, in the county of Mansfeld. In vain do the two prophets sing canticles in the name of the Lord; these fanatics are entirely defeated. Münzer, taken after the battle, is condemned to lose his head; he abjures his tenets before his death; he had been no enthusiast; he had only conducted those that were; but his disciple, Fisser, condemned along with him, dies fully persuaded of them. Storch returns to preach in Silesia, and sends disciples into Poland. The emperor, in the meantime, negotiates at his

ease with the king of France, his prisoner in Madrid.

1526 — The principal articles of the treaty whereby Charles V. imposes laws upon Francis I., are these:

The king of France gives up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Charolais. He renounces his right to sovereignty upon Artois and on Flanders; he cedes to him Arras, Tournay, Mortagne, St. Amand, Lille, Douay, Orchies, and Hesdin; he desists from his pretensions to the Two Sicilies, the Milanese, the county of Este, and on Genoa; he promises no longer to protect the duke of Guelders, whom he had always supported against this powerful emperor, nor the duke of Würtemberg, who claimed his duchy, which had been sold to the house of Austria; he promises to oblige the heirs to the crown of Navarre to renounce their rights to it; he signs an offensive and defensive league with the conqueror, who had ravished from him so many territories, and promises to marry Eleonor, his sister.

He is obliged to receive into favor the duke of Burgundy, to restore him his estate, and to indemnify not only him, but all his party.

Nor was this all; the two eldest sons of this king were to be delivered up as hostages for fulfilling the treaty, which is signed the 14th of January. While the king of France brings his two sons to be left captives in his stead, Lanoy, viceroy

of Naples, enters his apartments, booted, to make him sign the contract of marriage with Eleonor, whom he had never seen, and who was then four leagues off. A strange way this of taking a wife!

It is affirmed that Francis I. made a formal protestation against all his promises, in the presence of a notary, before he signed them. It is difficult to believe that a notary of Madrid either would or could enter the prison of a king to witness such an act.

The dauphin and the duke of Orleans are sent into Spain, exchanged for their father on the river Andoye, and carried into bondage.

Charles might have had Burgundy, had he caused it to have been ceded before he had released his prisoner. The king of France exposed his two children to the emperor's anger by not keeping his word. There had been a time when such an infringement would have cost these two princes their lives.

Francis I. causes it to be represented by the states of Burgundy, that he cannot part with so fine a province of France. He ought not then to have promised it. Such was the situation of this king, that every party was sorry for him.

On May 22, Francis I., whose misfortunes and necessities had procured him many friends, signs a league at Cognac with Pope Clement VII., the king of England, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Swiss, against the emperor. This league

is called Holy, because the pope is at the head of it. The king thereby stipulates to put that very duke, Francis Sforza, whom before he would have stripped of it, in possession of the Milanese.

He concludes with fighting for his old enemies. The emperor finds France, England, and Italy, at once arming against his power, because that power itself was not sufficiently strong to prevent such a revolution, and because he remained idle at Madrid, when he ought to have proceeded in making a proper use of the victories won by his generals.

During this confusion of intrigues and of wars, the Imperialists were masters not only of Milan, but of almost the whole province; Francis Sforza possessing no more than the castle of Milan. But as soon as the league is signed, there is a rising in the Milanese. They take part with their duke. The Venetians march and take Lodi from the emperor. The duke of Urbino enters the Milanese at the head of the pope's army. In spite of so many enemies, the good fortune of Charles preserves Italy to him; he ought to have lost it for staying at Madrid, but it is defended for him by the old Antonio de Leva and his other generals. Francis I. cannot march troops fast enough from his own weakened kingdom; the pope's army acts slowly, and that of Venice faintly. Francis Sforza is obliged to give up his castle of Milan. A very small number of Spaniards and Germans, properly com-

manded and accustomed to victory, procure all these advantages for Charles, at a time of his life when he scarcely does anything himself. He remains still at Madrid; he applies himself to the regulating ranks and forming titles; he marries Isabella, daughter to Emanuel the Great, king of Portugal, while the new elector of Saxony, John the Constant, professes the reformed religion, abolishing that of Rome in Saxony; while Philip, landgrave of Hesse, does the same in his dominions; Frankfort establishes a Lutheran senate; and while a great number of Teutonic Knights, destined to the defence of the church, quit it in order to marry and appropriate to the use of their families the commanderies of the order.

Fifty of the Knights Templars had been formerly burned, and the order extirpated for no other reason but because they were rich. The Teutonic order was powerful. Albert of Brandenburg, who was grand master of it, divides Prussia with Poland and remains sovereign of that part called ducal Prussia, doing homage and paying tribute to the king of Poland. This revolution is commonly placed in 1525.

Things being thus circumstanced, the Lutherans haughtily demand the establishment of their religion in Germany, at the Diet of Spires, while Ferdinand, who holds this diet, requests assistance against Solyman, who returns to the attack of Hungary. The diet grants neither the liberty of religion nor

the succors in behalf of Christianity against the Ottomans.

The young Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, imagines he shall be able alone to sustain the attacks of the Turkish Empire. He hazards a battle with Solyman. It was called the battle of Mohács, from the field on which it was fought, not far from Buda. It was as dreadful in its consequences to the Christians as the battle of Varna. Almost all the noblesse of Hungary perished therein. The army is entirely cut to pieces, and the king in his flight drowned in a morass. The writers of those times tell us that Solyman caused fifteen hundred Hungarian prisoners, who were of the noblesse, to be beheaded, yet that he wept at seeing the picture of the unfortunate King Louis. It is scarcely credible that a man who, in cold blood, could strike the heads off fifteen hundred noblemen, should weep for the death of one. These two facts are equally doubtful.

Solyman takes Buda, and menaces the surrounding countries. This misfortune of Christianity aggrandizes the house of Austria. The archduke Ferdinand, brother to Charles V., demands Hungary and Bohemia, as estates which ought to devolve to him by family compacts, by way of inheritance. This right of inheritance was reconciled by the right of election made by the people, the one supporting the other. The states of Hungary elect him on October 26.

In the meantime another party declare John

Zápolya, count of Scepus, vaivode of Transylvania, king in Alba Regalis. Perhaps no kingdom since that time was so unfortunate as Hungary. It was almost always divided into two factions and overrun by the Turks. Ferdinand, in the meantime, has the good luck to drive out his rival in a few days, and to be crowned at Buda, whence the Turks had withdrawn themselves.

1527 — On February 24 Ferdinand is elected king of Bohemia, without any competitor, and he acknowledges that he holds the kingdom *ex libera et bona voluntate,* by the free and good will of those who had chosen him.

Charles V. remains in Spain, while his house acquires two kingdoms, and his fortune in Italy outsoars his projects.

He pays but badly his troops under the command of the duke of Bourbon, and of Philibert de Châlons, prince of Orange. However, they exist on rapine, to which they give the name of contribution. The holy league was considerably disordered. The king of France had neglected that vengeance which he sought after, and had not yet sent an army beyond the Alps. The Venetians stir but little, the pope still less, and he is reduced to raise very bad troops. Bourbon leads his soldiers straight to Rome, which he storms on the 27th, but is killed in scaling the walls. However, the prince of Orange enters the town. The pope takes refuge and is made prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. The town is pillaged

and destroyed, as it had formerly been by Alaric and by other Barbarians.

It is said that the pillage amounted to fifteen millions of crowns. Charles, for only requiring half that sum as its ransom, might have reigned in Rome, but after the troops had lived there for nine months at discretion, he was compelled to part with it. His luck was the same with all others who had sacked that capital.

There had been too much blood spilt in this disaster, but many soldiers, who were enriched by the spoil, remained inhabitants of the country, and in Rome and the neighborhood around it, in some few months, were reckoned not less than forty-seven hundred young women with child. Rome, that had formerly been inhabited by Goths and Vandals, was now peopled by Spaniards and Germans; the blood of the Romans had been mixed with that of a crowd of strangers under the Cæsars. At this day there is but one single family in Rome that can call itself Roman. No more than the name and ruins of this mistress of the world subsist.

During the imprisonment of the pope, Alphonso I., duke of Ferrara, from whom Julius II. had taken Modena and Reggio, recovers his possessions, when Clement VII. capitulates in the castle of St. Angelo. The Malatestas possess themselves again of Rimini. The Venetians, allies to the pope, take Ravenna, to guard it for him, say they, against the emperor.

The Florentines, shaking off the yoke of the Medicis, set themselves at liberty.

Francis I. and Henry VIII., instead of sending troops into Italy, send ambassadors to the emperor, who was then at Valladolid. Fortune, in less than two years, had put into his hands Rome, the Milanese, a king of France, and a pope, without his making use of these opportunities.

Strong enough to pillage Rome, he was not able to keep it and the old claim of the emperors, their pretence on the dominion of Rome remaining still eclipsed.

At length, Francis I. sends an army into the Milanese, under that very Lautrec who had before lost it, leaving his two children still in bondage. This army once more retakes the Milanese, which they had won and lost in so short a time. This diversion and the plague, which ravage Rome and the conquering army at the same time, pave the way for the pope's deliverance. Charles V., on one side, sings Te Deum and makes processions in Spain for this deliverance of the holy father, whom he nevertheless holds in captivity; on the other, he sells him his liberty for 400,000 ducats. Clement VII. lays down 100,000 and makes his escape without having paid the rest.

While Rome is sacked, and the pope ransomed in the name of Charles V., the protector of the Catholic faith, such sects as were enemies to that religion make new progress. The sacking of Rome and

the pope's captivity give the Lutherans fresh spirits. Mass is legally abolished at Strasburg, in consequence of a public dispute. Ulm, Augsburg, and many other imperial towns, declare themselves Lutherans. The council of Berne admit the cause of the Catholics and that of the Sacramentarians, disciples of Zuinglius, to be pleaded before them. These sectaries differ from the Lutherans principally about the eucharist. The Zuinglians affirm that God is in the bread only by faith, and the Lutherans affirm that God is with the bread, in the bread, and on the bread; but all agree that the bread exists. Geneva and Constance follow the example of Berne. The Zuinglians are the progenitors of Calvinists; of people of sound sense, but simple and austere. The Bohemians, the Germans, and the Swiss are those who ravaged one-half of Europe at the siege of Rome.

The Anabaptists renew their fury, in the name of the Lord, from the palatinate to Würzburg. They are dispersed by the elector palatine, assisted by the generals Truchses and Fronsberg.

1528 — The Anabaptists appear again in Utrecht, and cause the archbishop of that town, who was the sovereign of it, to sell it to Charles V., lest the duke of Guelders should make himself master of it.

This duke, secretly protected by France, opposes Charles V., whom nothing could hitherto withstand. Charles makes peace with him, on condition that the duchy of Guelders and the county of Zütphen should

revert to the house of Austria, in case of the duke's dying without male issue.

The quarrels of religion seem to demand the presence of Charles in Germany, while war summons him to Italy.

Two heralds, Guienne and Clarencieux, the one on the part of France, the other on that of England, declare war against him at Madrid. Francis I. had no business to declare it, because he had already done it in the Milanese, and Henry VIII. still less, because he had not done it at all.

It is an idle fancy to think that princes neither act nor speak but like politicians. They do both like men. The emperor sharply reproaches the king of England, with his intended divorce from Catherine of Aragon, who was Charles's aunt, and charges the herald Clarencieux, to tell him that Cardinal Wolsey advised both the divorce and the war, to revenge himself for the loss of the papacy. As to Francis I., he reproaches him with the breach of his promise, and declares he will fight him hand to hand. It is true that Francis I. had broken his word, but it is no less true that to keep it had been extremely difficult.

Francis I. answers him in these terms: "You lie in your throat, and as often as you repeat it, you lie. . . . Appoint the place of combat; we shall meet you properly prepared." The emperor sends a herald to the king of France, to notify the place of combat, whom the king receives on September 10

in the most magnificent manner. The herald would have spoken before the delivery of his letter, wherein was ascertained the place of engagement, but the king silences him, and will only see the letter, which therefore was never produced. Thus the time of two kings is taken up with giving each other the lie by heralds at arms. There is in this procedure an air of knight-errantry and ridicule, very different from our manners.

During all these bravadoes, Charles V. loses the fruits of the battle of Pavia, of the taking of the king, and the captivity of the pope. He is also near losing the kingdom of Naples. Lautrec had already seized upon Abruzzo entirely. The Venetians had possessed themselves of most of the maritime towns of that kingdom. The celebrated Andrea Doria, then in the French service, had with the galleys of Genoa beaten the imperial fleet. The emperor, who six months before was master of Italy, is near being driven out of it, but it is the fate of the French to lose always in Italy what they had gained.

The contagion reaches their army; Lautrec dies. Naples is evacuated. Henry, duke of Brunswick, with a new army, approaches to defend the Milanese against the French, and against Sforza.

Doria, who had contributed so much to the success of France, disgusted at Francis I., and fearing an arrest, quits his service and passes over to that of the emperor, with his galleys.

The war continues in the Milanese, and Pope Clement VII. negotiates while he waits the event of it. It was no longer a time to excommunicate an emperor, or transfer his sceptre into other hands by divine appointment. This formerly might have been the case, had he refused to lead the pope's horse by the bridle, but the pope, after his imprisonment, after the sacking of Rome, ineffectually supported by the French, fearing even the Venetians, his allies, willing to establish his family at Florence, perceiving besides Sweden, Denmark, and one-half of Germany, fallen from the Roman church, the pope, I say, in these extremities, respected and feared Charles V. so very much that, instead of breaking the marriage between Henry VIII. and Catherine, the aunt of Charles, he was ready to excommunicate that very Henry VIII., his ally, because Charles required it.

1529 — The king of England, a slave to his passions, bends his thoughts on nothing but being separated from his wife, Catherine of Aragon, a virtuous woman, by whom he had a daughter some years before, and marrying his mistress, Anne of Boleyn, or Bullen.

Francis I. still leaves his two children captives to Charles V. in Spain, and makes war against him in the Milanese. Duke Francis Sforza still leagued with that king, and seeks the countenance of the emperor, willing to preserve his duchy by the hands of the stronger, and fearing to lose it, either by the

one or by the other. Germany is rent by the Protestants and Catholics. The sultan Solyman prepares to attack it, and Charles V. remains at Valladolid.

Old Antonio de Leva, one of the greatest generals in his time, seventy-three years old, sick of the gout and carried on a litter, defeats the French in the Milanese, near the frontiers of Pavia. The remainder of them disperse, and quit a country that has been so fatal to them. The pope still continues to treat, and had happily concluded his negotiations before the French receive this last stroke. The emperor treats the pope very generously: First, to make amends in the eyes of the Catholics, and in truth he had some need of it for the scandal of sacking Rome; secondly, to engage the pontiff to oppose the arms of religion to the scandal that was likely to fall on his aunt at London by making void her marriage and bastardizing his cousin Mary, that very Mary to whom he ought to have been married; and thirdly, because the French were not rooted out of Italy when this treaty was concluded.

The emperor gives Ravenna, Pavia, Modena, and Reggio to Pope Clement VII., leaving him at liberty to pursue his pretensions on Ferrara. He promises him also, to give Tuscany to Alexander de Medici. The treaty, so advantageous to the pope, was ratified at Barcelona.

Immediately after he agrees to terms with Francis I., who purchases his children for two million of golden crowns, paid down, and five hundred

thousand crowns to be given by Francis to Henry VIII., being the sum forfeited by Charles V. for not marrying his cousin Mary.

Francis had certainly nothing to say of the debts of Charles V., but he was conquered, and his children ought to be redeemed. Two and a half million golden crowns certainly impoverished France, but was not equal to the value of Burgundy, which remained to the king; besides, it was so contrived with the king of England that the forfeit was never paid.

France, then impoverished, appears no longer formidable; Italy waits the orders of the emperor; the Venetians temporize, while Germany fears the Turks, and wrangles about religion.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Spires, where Lutherans take the name of Protestants from the protesting of Saxony, Hesse, Lüneburg, Anhalt, and fourteen towns, against the edict of Ferdinand, and appeal to a future council.

Ferdinand leaves the Protestants to believe and act as they please; he did well. Solyman, who had no religious disputes to appease, still intends the crown of Hungary for John Zápolya, vaivode of Transylvania, an opponent of Ferdinand, and this kingdom was to have become tributary to the Turks.

Solyman subdues Hungary, enters Austria, takes Altenburg by assault, besieges Vienna on September 26, but Vienna is always the stumbling block of the Turks. It is the fortune of the house of Bavaria

to defend Austria in these perils. Philip the Warlike, brother to the elector palatine, the last elector of the eldest palatine branch, defends Vienna. Solyman raises the siege in thirty days, but remains master of Hungary, and gives the investiture of it to John Zápolya.

Charles at last quits Spain, and arrives at Genoa, which, no longer French, attends her fate from him. He declares Genoa free, and a fief of the empire. He goes from town to town in triumph, during the time that the Turks besiege Vienna. Pope Clement VII. waits for him at Bologna, whither Charles at length comes to receive, on his knees, the benediction of him whom he had held captive, whose dominions he had desolated. After having been at the pope's feet as a Catholic, he receives, as an emperor, Francis Sforza, who throws himself at his feet and asks his pardon. He gives him the investiture of the Milanese for one hundred thousand golden ducats, paid down, and five hundred thousand payable in ten years. He gives him his niece, the daughter of the tyrant Christian in marriage, after which he himself is crowned by the pope at Bologna. Like Frederick III., he receives from him three crowns, the one of Germany, the other of Lombardy, and the third of the empire. The pope, in giving him the sceptre, addresses him thus: "Emperor, our son, take this sceptre, to reign over the people of the empire, over whom we and the electors judge you worthy to command." In giving

him the globe, he says to him: "This globe represents the world, which you ought to govern with virtue, religion, and constancy." The ceremony of the globe recalls to mind the image of the ancient Roman Empire, master of the best part of the known world, and in some measure belonging to Charles V., sovereign of Spain, Italy, Germany, and America.

Charles kisses the pope's feet in the time of mass, but he had no mule to lead. The emperor and pope eat in the same state, each at a table by himself.

He promises to the pope's nephew, Alexander de Medici, his bastard Margaretta, with Tuscany as a portion.

By these regulations and concessions it is evident that Charles V. did not aspire at being king of the Christian continent as Charlemagne had been. He only aimed at being the principal personage, at having the chief influence there, and preserving his right of sovereignty over Italy. Had he intended to have ingrossed all to himself, he had drained Spain of men and money, to have established himself at Rome, and governed Lombardy as one of his provinces. But this does not do, for the more he had engrossed, the more he had to fear.

1530 — The Tuscans, seeing their liberty sacrificed by the union between the emperor and the pope, have the courage to defend themselves against both, but this courage is useless, opposed to strength. Florence besieged, surrenders upon condition.

Alexander de Medici is received as their sovereign, and acknowledges himself a vassal of the empire.

Charles V. disposes of principalities like a judge and a master. He gives up Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, in spite of the prayers of the pope. He erects Mantua into a duchy. It was at this era he gave Malta to the Knights of St. John, who had lost Rhodes. The donation bears date of March 24. He makes them this present as king of Spain, and not as emperor. He avenges himself as much as possible on the Turks, by opposing to them this bulwark, which they could never destroy.

After having thus disposed of territories, he goes to endeavor to give peace to Germany, but it is much harder to settle the quarrels of religion than the interests of princes.

The confession of Augsburg was made about this time, which serves as a rule to the Protestants and a rallying of their party. This Diet of Augsburg began June 20. On June 26 the Protestants present their confession of faith in Latin and German.

Strasburg, Meiningen, Lindau, and Constance, there present their act of separation, and call it, "The confession of the four towns." They were Lutheran like the rest, and differed but in few points.

Zuinglius also sends thither his confession, although neither he nor the canton of Berne were either Lutherans or Imperialists.

Disputes run high. On September 22 the emperor

publishes a decree, enjoining the Protestants to desist from further innovations, to leave full liberty to the Catholic religion in their different territories, and to prepare a presentation of their griefs, for a council to be convoked in six months.

The four towns form an alliance with the three cantons of Berne, Zurich, and Basel, whereby they are to be furnished with troops, should any encroachments be made on their liberty.

The Diet makes out the process of the grand master of the Teutonic order. Albert of Brandenburg, who, as we have seen, had become a Lutheran, possessed himself of ducal Prussia, and chased out the Catholic knights. He is put under the ban of the empire, but is nevertheless master of Prussia.

The Diet fixes the imperial chamber in the town of Spires. It is by this that it is finished, and the emperor appoints another at Cologne, in order to have his brother, Ferdinand, there elected king of the Romans.

Ferdinand is chosen on January 5 by all the electors, except John the Constant, of Saxony, who fruitlessly opposes him.

The Protestant princes at that time and the deputies of the Lutheran towns unite themselves at Smalcald, a town of Hesse. The league for their general defence is signed in the month of March. Their zeal for their religion, and fear of seeing the empire, which was elective, become a hereditary monarchy, were the motives of this league between

John, duke of Saxony, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Würtemberg, the prince of Anhalt, the count of Mansfeld, and the towns of their communion.

1531 — Francis I., who caused the Lutherans in his own dominions to be burned, promises to assist those of Germany. The emperor then negotiates with them. The Anabaptists only are prosecuted, who had settled in Moravia. Their new apostle, Hutter, who travelled about making proselytes, is taken at Tyrol, and burned at Innsbrück.

This Hutter preached neither sedition nor slaughter, as most of his predecessors had done. He was a man infatuated with the simplicity of the primitive times, and would not allow even his own disciples to carry arms. He preached up reformation and equality, and therefore they burned him.

Philip, landgrave of Hesse, a prince worthy of greater power and better fortune, is the first who undertakes to re-unite the sects that are separated from the Roman communion, a project which has been since vainly attempted, and would have saved much blood to Europe. Martin Bucer was charged, in the name of the Sacramentarians, to reconcile them to the Lutherans. But Luther and Melancthon were inflexible, and in that show themselves more obstinate than cunning. The princes and the towns have in view the two objects, their religion, and the reduction of the imperial power to narrower bounds. Had it not been for this last article, there had been

no civil war. The Protestants persist in refusing to acknowledge Ferdinand for king of the Romans.

1532 — The emperor, made uneasy by the Protestants, and threatened by the Turks, stifles for some time the rising troubles, by granting to the Protestants all they asked in the Diet held at Nuremberg in the month of June, and suppressing all proceedings against them, gives them entire liberty even to the holding a council, nay, leaves even the rights of his brother, Ferdinand, undecided.

He could not have yielded more, but it was to the Turks the Lutherans owed this indulgence.

The condescension of Charles encourages the Protestants to manifest their duty. They furnish an army against Solyman, and raise, by way of common subsidy, one hundred and fifty thousand florins for that service. The pope exerts himself, by furnishing six thousand men and four million crowns. Charles draws troops out of Flanders and Naples. We now see an army of above one hundred thousand men, composed of nations different in their language and education, yet animated with the same spirit, to march against the common enemy. The count palatine, Philip, destroys a body of Turks who had advanced as far as Gratz in Styria. The flower of Solyman's numerous army is cut off, and he is obliged to retreat to Constantinople. Solyman, in spite of his great reputation, conducts this campaign with little judgment. He had in truth taken many wrong steps, bringing with him about two

hundred thousand slaves. This was waging war like a Tartar, and not like an experienced commander.

The emperor and his brother, after the departure of the Turks, disband their army, the greater part of which was auxiliary, and collected only for the present danger. But few troops remained under imperial ensigns. At that time everything was done of a sudden. There was no established fund for the maintenance of an army any long time, and very few designs were long followed. Seizing an opportunity was everything. Charles V. then made war in person, which others had so long made for him, for till that time, he had seen none but the siege of the little town of Mouzon, in 1521, ever since which having met nothing but good fortune, he had now inclined to partake of the glory.

1533 — He returns into Spain by way of Italy, leaving to his brother, the king of the Romans, the care of governing the Protestants.

He is no sooner in Spain, than his aunt, Catherine of Aragon, is repudiated by the king of England, and her marriage annulled by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. Clement VII. could no longer excuse himself from excommunicating Henry VIII.

The Milanese were still nearest the heart of Francis I. This prince seeing Charles peaceably inclined, but few troops in Lombardy, and Francis Sforza without children, endeavors to draw off the latter from the emperor's interest. He sends him secretly a minister named Maraviglia, born in the Milanese,

with orders not to assume any character, although he gave him credential letters.

The subject of this man's commission is seen into. Sforza, to clear himself with the emperor, quarrels with Maraviglia; a man is killed in the fray, and Sforza orders the minister's head to be struck off, nor is the king of France able to avenge it.

All that he can do is to secretly assist Ulric, duke of Würtemberg, to re-enter his duchy, and shake off the yoke of the house of Austria. This prince being a Protestant, expected his re-establishment from the League of Smalcald, and the king of France's assistance.

The princes of the league had sufficient authority in the Diet of Nuremberg to have it determined that Ferdinand, king of the Romans, should surrender the duchy of Würtemberg of which he was possessed. The Diet in this acted conformably to the laws. The duke had a son, who certainly ought not to be punished for the faults of his father. Ulric had not been guilty of treason against the empire, consequently his issue ought not to be deprived of his possessions.

Ferdinand promises to conform to the decree of the empire, but neglects it. Philip, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, surnamed very justly, the Magnanimous, takes the part of the duke of Würtemberg. He goes to France, borrows of the king one hundred thousand golden crowns, raises an army of fifteen

thousand men, and restores Würtemberg to its master.

Ferdinand sends troops thither under the command of the very count palatine, Philip the Warlike, who had beaten the Turks.

1534 — Philip the Magnanimous, of Hesse, beats Philip the Warlike. Then the king of the Romans submits to a composition.

Duke Ulric was re-established, but the duchy of Würtemberg declared a masculine fief of the arch-duchy of Austria, and as such ought to revert, in case of the failure of male issue, to the arch-ducal house.

In this year Henry VIII. separates himself from the Roman communion, and declares himself head of the English church. This revolution was made without the least trouble. In Germany it was very different. There religion caused much bloodshed, particularly in Westphalia.

The Sacramentarians at length became the most powerful in Münster, and drive out bishop Waldeck. The Anabaptists succeed to the Sacramentarians, and possess themselves of the town. This sect spreads itself in Friesland and Holland. A tailor of Leyden, named John, goes to the succor of his brethren with a troop of prophets and assassins. He caused himself to be proclaimed king, and solemnly crowned at Münster, on June 24.

Bishop Waldeck besieges the town, assisted by the troops of Cologne and Cleves. The Anabaptists

compare their enemy to Holofernes, and believe themselves the people of God. A woman, willing to imitate Judith, goes out of the town with the same intention, but instead of returning to her Bethulia with the bishop's head, she is hanged in the camp.

1535 — Charles, at that time in Spain, meddled but little in the affairs of the Germanic body, which to him was a continual source of uneasiness, without the least advantage. He seeks for glory in another quarter. Not strong enough in Germany to carry on a war against Solyman, he intends revenging himself on the Turks by turning his arms against the famous admiral, Cheredin, who had possessed himself of Tunis, after having driven out the king, Muley Hassan. The dethroned African came to offer himself as a tributary to Charles, who passed over into Africa in the month of April, with about twenty-five thousand men, two hundred transports, and one hundred and fifteen galleys. Pope Paul III. granted him a tenth, which was pretty considerable, of all the ecclesiastical revenues in the Austrian territories. He joined nine galleys to the Spanish fleet. Charles goes to attack the army of Cheredin in person, which was superior to his in number, but very ill disciplined.

Historians report that Charles, before the battle, expressed himself thus to his generals: "Though straw may ripen medlars, our tardiness rather rots than ripens the courage of our soldiers." Princes seldom express themselves thus. They ought to

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be made to speak nobly, or rather no words ought to be put into their mouths which they never said; almost all their harangues are fictions cooked up in history.

Charles gains a complete victory, and re-establishes Muley Hassan, who gives up to him the fortress of Goletta, with an extent of country for ten miles around, declaring himself and his successors vassals to the kings of Spain, submitting to pay, as a tribute, twenty thousand crowns a year.

Charles returns a conqueror to Sicily and Naples, bringing with him all the Christian slaves whom he had set at liberty, bestowing liberally among them wherewith to carry them to their respective homes. These were so many mouths who everywhere published his praises. Never did he enjoy before so fine a triumph.

In this zenith of glory, having repulsed Solyman, given a king to Tunis, and compelled Francis I. to abandon Italy, he presses Paul III. to call a council. The afflictions of the Roman Church daily increase.

Calvin began to rule in Geneva; the sect to which he had the credit of giving his name, spread itself in France, and was to be feared by the Roman Church, who scarcely retained more than the territory of the house of Austria and Poland.

In the meantime Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, dies, without children. Charles V. seizes on that duchy as a fief devolving to him. His power and

his riches increase. His will is a law in Italy, where he is more master than in Germany.

At Naples he celebrates the marriage of his natural daughter, Margaret, with Alexander de Medici, the created duke of Tuscany, in the most brilliant manner, whereby he increases the affection of the people.

1536 — Francis I. did not lose sight of the Milanese, that sepulchre of the French. He demands the investiture of it at least for his second son, Henry. The emperor gives him but empty words. He might have refused him plainly.

The house of Savoy was no longer attached to France, whose ally it had a great while been. The emperor had everything; there was scarcely a prince in Europe who had not some pretensions at the cost of his neighbors. The king of France had demands on the county of Nice, and on the marquisate of Saluzzo. He sends an army thither, which possesses itself of almost all the duke of Savoy's territories, which were not then what they are at this day.

France's real reason for having and keeping the Milanese was to command and fortify Piedmont; once mistress of the Alps, she had been, sooner or later, sovereign of Lombardy.

The duke of Savoy goes to Naples to implore the emperor's protection. This prince, although so powerful, had yet no army of consequence in Italy. It was the custom then to have them only for the present occasion, but he at length engages the Venetians

in his interests, as also the Swiss, who recall their troops from the French army. He soon augments his forces, and goes to Rome magnificently attended. He enters it in triumph, but not as a master, which he might formerly have done. He takes a seat at the consistory, below that of the pope. One is astonished to hear a victorious Roman emperor pleading his cause before the pope. He pronounces a discourse against Francis I., as Cicero had done against Antony. But he does what Cicero did not — proposes fighting his antagonist in a duel. There was in all this a mixture of the manners of antiquity, with the spirit of knight-errantry. After having spoken of duelling, he mentions the council. Pope Paul III. published the bull of convocation.

The king of France had sent troops sufficient to possess themselves of the duke of Savoy's territories, then left almost defenceless, but this army was not sufficiently formidable to resist one soon after led by the emperor, composed of a number of brave fellows, tutored by victories in Italy, Hungary, Flanders, and Africa.

Charles retakes all Piedmont, Turin excepted. He enters Provence with an army of fifty thousand men, while his fleet hovers on the coast, consisting of one hundred and forty vessels, commanded by Doria. All Provence, exclusive of Marseilles, is subdued and ravaged. He could at that time have revived the ancient rights of the empire upon Provence, Dauphiny, and the old kingdom of Arles.

He, on the other hand, presses France in Picardy with an army of Germans, which, under Count de Reux, takes Guise, and proceeds still farther.

In the midst of these disasters, Francis the Dauphin, son of Francis I., dies of a pleurisy at Lyons. Twenty authors have affirmed that the emperor caused him to be poisoned. No calumny can be more absurd, or more contemptible. What had the emperor to fear from a young prince who had never opposed him? What could he gain by his death? Of what mean, and of what shameful crime has he been guilty, to lay him under such a suspicion? They pretend there was poison found in the box of Montecuculi, a domestic of the dauphin's, brought into France by Catherine de Medici.

Montecuculi was quartered, because poison was found in his possession, and that the dauphin was dead.

The question was put to him, whether he had ever conversed with the emperor? He answered, that having been once presented to him by Antonio de Leva, that prince had asked him what order the king of France observed in his meals. Was this a reason strong enough to throw the suspicion of so abominable and useless a crime on Charles V.?

The invasion of Provence is fatal to the French, without being serviceable to the emperor, out of whose power it is to take Marseilles. A great part of his army is destroyed by sickness. He returns to Genoa on board his fleet. His other army is com-

pelled to evacuate Picardy. France, though on the brink of ruin, still holds out. That which had lost Naples to Francis I. loses Provence to Charles V. Enterprises so very distant from one another seldom succeed.

The emperor returns to Spain, leaving Italy subdued, France weakened, and Germany still in trouble.

The Anabaptists continue their depredations in Friesland, Holland, and Westphalia, which they call "Fighting the Lord's battles." They go to succor their prophet king, John of Leyden, and are defeated by George Schenk, governor of Friesland. The town of Münster is taken. John of Leyden and his principal accomplices are shown about in a cage, and afterwards torn with red-hot pincers. The Lutheran party increase their strength; animosities also increase. The League of Smalcald does not as yet produce a civil war.

1537 — Charles is not at ease in Spain. There is a necessity to support the war which Francis I. had inconsiderately begun, and still continued to wage against the emperor.

The Parliament of Paris summon the emperor, declare him a rebellious vassal, and deprive him of the fine provinces of Flanders, Artois, and Charolais. This edict surely was good, after his having conquered those provinces. The imperial troops, in spite of it, advance in Picardy. Francis I. goes in person to besiege Hesdin in Artois, but is

obliged to quit it. There are several trivial engagements fought, but the success of them undecisive.

Francis I. resolves to make a great stroke, and hazards Christianity to revenge himself on the emperor. He engaged with Solyman that he would invade the Milanese with a powerful army, at the same time that the Turks should make a descent on the kingdom of Naples and on Austria.

Solyman keeps his word, but Francis is too weak to be true to his. The famous captain, Pacha Cheredin, makes a descent, with part of his galleys, on Apulia, also near Otranto. He ravages the country, and carries off sixteen thousand Christian slaves. This is that Cheredin, viceroy of Algiers, whom authors call Barbarossa. This nickname had been given to his brother, who died in the year 1519, after having made some conquests on the coast of Barbary.

Solyman advances into Hungary. Ferdinand, king of the Romans, comes up with the Turks, between Buda and Belgrade. A bloody battle ensues, in which Ferdinand is put to flight, with the loss of twenty-four thousand men. One would have imagined Italy and Austria were in the hands of the Ottomans, and Francis I., master of Lombardy, but this is not the case. Barbarossa, not finding Francis I. appear to assist him in the Milanese, retreats with his booty and his slaves to Constantinople. Austria is left in security. The emperor had withdrawn his troops from Artois

and Picardy. His two sisters, the one Mary of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, the other Eleonor of Portugal, wife of Francis I., having managed a treaty upon the frontiers, the emperor consents to it, that he may have fresh troops wherewith to oppose the Turks, and Francis I. is left at liberty to pass into Italy.

The dauphin Henry was already in Piedmont, where the French were masters of almost all the towns, some few excepted, which were defended by the marquis del Vasto, whom the French call Duguast. A treaty is then concluded for some months in this country. This was not making war seriously, after projects of so great and so dangerous a nature. He who lost most by this peace was the duke of Savoy, plundered by friends and enemies; for both Imperialists and French keep still the possession of most of his towns.

1538—The treaty between Charles V. and Francis I. is prolonged at the expense of the duke of Savoy for ten years.

Solyman is angry that his ally does not pursue his victory. All things are done by halves in this war.

Charles, having passed into Italy to conclude the treaty, marries his bastard daughter, widow of Alexander de Medici, to Octavio Farnese, grandson to a bastard of Paul, the third duke of Parma, Placentia, and Castro. These duchies had been formerly the inheritance of the countess Mathilda; she had

given them to the Church, and not to the pope's bastards. They have since been annexed to the duchy of Milan. Pope Julius II. joined them to the ecclesiastical state, whence they were detached by Paul III., who gave them to this son. The emperor might very justly have claimed the sovereignty of them; but he rather chose to favor the pope than quarrel with him.

After all these great preparations for defence, Francis I. retires from the frontiers of Piedmont, Charles V. takes the road of Spain, and meets Francis I. at Aguesmortes, with as much familiarity as if this prince had never been his prisoner, as if he had never given him the lie, as if he had never challenged him to single combat, as if the kings of France had not brought the Turks into the empire; and as if he had not suffered Charles V. to be treated as a poisoner.

1539 — Charles V. is informed in Spain that Ghent, the place in which he was born, is on the brink of revolting, in defence of its privileges. All the towns of the Low Countries have certain rights; no assistance was ever obtained in this flourishing country by arbitrary imposition. The states always furnished their sovereign, when it seemed needful, with a free gift, and the town of Ghent, from time immemorial, had enjoyed the prerogative of naming her own constitution. The states of Flanders having granted one hundred and twenty thousand florins to the governess of the Low Countries, ap-

point four hundred thousand to be raised on the people of Ghent, who oppose this encroachment, and refer to their privileges. The governess causes the principal citizens to be arrested; an insurrection ensues; the inhabitants take up arms; it was one of the richest and largest cities in Europe. They offer to give themselves up to the king of France, as to their sovereign; but he makes a merit of refusing their proposal; still flattering himself with hopes of obtaining from the emperor the investiture of Milan for one of his sons. And what ensues? He obtains neither Ghent nor Milan.

The emperor then demands a passage for himself through France, that he may punish the rebels of Ghent. The dauphin and the duke of Orleans receive him at Bayonne. Francis I. goes before him to Chateblerant. Charles V. enters Paris on January 1. The parliament and all the public bodies meet and compliment him without the walls of the town. They carry to him their keys. Prisoners are in his name set at liberty. He presides in parliament, and makes a knight. This act of authority in Sigismund was found fault with, in Charles V. it was approved. To create a knight at that time was only declaring a man noble, to which nobility was adjoined an honorable and useless title.

Knighthood had been in great esteem in Europe; but it had never been more than a name given insensibly to lords of fiefs, distinguished for their military achievements. By little and little these lords of fiefs

had erected knighthood into a sort of imaginary order, composed of religious ceremonies of virtue and debauchery. But this title of knight was never part of the constitution of a state; they never acknowledged any but feudal laws. A lord of a fief, when a knight, might be more respected than another in some castles, but it was not on the footing of a knight that he entered the diets of the empire, the states of France, the cortes of Spain, or the parliament of England, but on the footing of a baron, earl, a marquis, or a duke. The lords banneret in the army were called knights, but it was not in quality of knights that they had banners, no more than that they had castles and territories in quality of Worthies; but they only called them Worthy, because they were supposed to have done some worthy action.

In the main, that which is called knighthood belongs rather to romance than history. It was little more than an honorable mummery. Charles V. ought not to have created a bailiff of a town in France, because that is a real employment. He conferred the vain title of knight, and, in effect, the real part of this ceremony was his declaring a man to be noble who was not so. This nobility was acknowledged in France only by courtesy, out of respect to the emperor. But what is most likely is, that Charles V., by this procedure, would have insinuated a belief of the emperor's right to confer this title in every dominion. Sigismund had made one knight in France, Charles would therefore make

another; nor could this prerogative be refused to an emperor to whom they had granted that of setting prisoners at liberty.

Those who have imagined that the detaining Charles prisoner was a subject of debate, speak without any proof. Francis I. would have been guilty of the greatest infamy, if, through mean treachery, he had detained him prisoner, whose captive he had been by force of arms. There are some state crimes which have the sanction of custom. There are others which no custom can authorize, and which the chivalry of those times would have discountenanced. It is said that the king only exacted from him a promise of conferring the Milanese on the duke of Orleans, brother to the dauphin Henry, and that he satisfied himself with his bare word. Here he piqued himself more on his generosity than his cunning.

Charles enters Ghent at the head of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, which he brought with him. The people of Ghent might have raised eighty thousand armed men, yet they give him no opposition.

1540 — On May 12 the privileges of Ghent were taken from it, twenty-four of the principal citizens were hanged, the citadel razed to the ground, and the citizens condemned to advance, towards the rebuilding it, three hundred thousand ducats, and to furnish nine thousand ducats yearly for the support of the garrison. There is seldom a better use made

of law in the hands of the strong. When the blood of the ministers of Mary of Burgundy had been here shed before her eyes, the town escaped without punishment, while for supporting its real rights it was almost ruined.

Francis I. sends his wife, Eleonor, to Brussels to solicit the investiture of Milan; to facilitate which he not only renounces his alliance with the Turks, but enters into an offensive one with the pope against them. It was the emperor's design to make him lose his ally, and yet not to give him Milan.

The Lutheran religion, and the league of Smalcald, acquire new strength in Germany by the death of George of Saxony, the powerful sovereign of Meissen and Thuringia. He was a very zealous Catholic, and his brother, Henry, who continued the line, was a firm Lutheran. George, by his last will, disinherited his brother and his nephews, in case they did not return to the religion of their ancestors, and left his dominions to the house of Austria. This was quite a new case. No law of the empire could deprive a prince of his estate on account of his religion. John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and the brave landgrave of Hesse, George's kinsman, preserve the succession to the natural heir, by furnishing him with troops. Luther comes to preach among them, and the inhabitants here, as well as those of Saxony and Hesse, become Lutherans.

Lutheranism signalizes itself by tolerating polygamy. The wife of the landgrave, the daughter of

George, indulges her husband, whom she could not please, with leave to marry again. The landgrave, being in love with Margaret de Saal, daughter of a Saxon gentleman, proposes the question to Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, whether he could, in conscience, have two wives, and whether the law of nature could, in this point, be reconciled to the Christian law. The three apostles, extremely confounded, give him, privately, their permission in writing. All husbands might be permitted to do the same; for, in case of conscience, a landgrave cannot be allowed greater liberties than another man. But this example was not followed. The difficulties ensuing from keeping two wives, exceeds greatly the disgust arising from having only one.

The emperor uses his best endeavors to overturn the League of Smalcald, and is able only to divide from it Albert of Brandenburg, surnamed Achilles. Several conferences are held between the Protestants and Catholics, the common consequence of all which is their being unable to agree.

1541 — On July 18, the emperor publishes, at Ratisbon, an interim, an inhalt, so it is commonly called, or an edict, whereby every person is left to his own belief without molestation.

This edict was necessary now, when armies were to be levied against the Turks. We have before remarked that numerous armies were only levied upon points of exigency. Solyman had been considered as the protector of John Zápolya, who had

always been competitor for the crown of Hungary with Ferdinand. This protection gave a pretext to the Turkish invasion; for John being dead, Solyman remained in the place of tutor to his son.

The imperial army besieges the young pupil of Solyman in Buda; but the Turks come to his assistance and give the Christians an irrecoverable overthrow.

The sultan at length, weary of fighting and conquering so often for Christians, seizes on Hungary as the reward of his victories, and leaves Transylvania to the young prince, who, according to his doctrine, could have no hereditary right to an elective kingdom, as Hungary was.

Ferdinand, king of the Romans, then offers to become tributary to Solyman, provided he will give him that kingdom, and is answered by the sultan, that he must renounce all claim to Hungary, and besides do him homage for Austria.

While things were in this situation, and the Turkish army diminished by the plague, Solyman returns to Constantinople; and Charles passes over into Italy. Instead of projecting the rescue of Hungary from the Turks, he prepares for an attack upon Algiers. This was being more attentive to the glory of Spain than that of the empire. Master of Tunis and Algiers, all Barbary would have been subjected to the Spanish yoke; while Germany was to defend itself against the Turks as well as it could. He lands on the coast of Algiers on October 23, with almost

as many people as attended him at the siege of Tunis. But a violent storm having sunk fifteen of his galleys, eighty-six of his vessels, and his troops having been annoyed on land by the Moors, and storms in conjunction, Charles is forced to re-embark on board the remainder of his ships, and arrives at Carthagena in November, with the ruins of his fleet and army. His reputation suffers considerably. He is blamed for his rashness in this undertaking; yet had he succeeded he had been still the avenger of Europe. The famous Hernan Cortes, the conqueror of so many American nations, served as a volunteer in this expedition against Algiers. Here he saw the difference between a small number of men, who know how to defend themselves, and multitudes who permit themselves to be overcome.

Why Solyman remained inactive after his conquests is inconceivable; but it is easy to see why Germany permitted it. Because the Catholic unite against the Protestant princes; it is because the league of Smalcald makes war against the duke of Brunswick, a Catholic, drives him out of his dominions, and sets at ransom all the ecclesiastics. It is, in fine, because the king of France, tired with the refusal of the investiture of the Milanese, prepares strong alliances and potent armies against the emperor.

The life of Charles V. and the empire were one continual tempest. The sultan, the pope, Venice, one-half of Germany and France were one or other

of them almost always against him; and sometimes all together. England was at one time a second, at another an adversary. No emperor was ever more feared; yet less to be feared.

Francis I. sends an ambassador to Constantinople and another to Venice, at one and the same time. He who was sent to Solyman was a native of Navarre, called Rinçone; the other Fregose, a Genoese. Both were assassinated on the Po, by the governor of Milan's order.

This murder was perfectly like that of Colonel St. Clair, assassinated in our time, as he returned from Constantinople to Sweden: these two events were either causes of, or pretexts for, a very bloody war. Charles V. disavows the assassination of the two ambassadors of the king of France. In truth, he looked on them as men born his subjects, and become infidels. But it is much better proved that man is born with a natural right to choose his own party, than it can possibly be that a prince has any right to assassinate his subjects. If this is one of the prerogatives of royalty it is very dreadful for it. Charles, in disavowing the action committed in his name, owned it, in effect, to be a most shameful crime. Politics and revenge equally spur the armaments of Francis I.

He sends the dauphin into Roussillon with an army of thirty thousand men, and his other son, the duke of Orleans, with the like number, into Luxemburg.

The duke of Cleves, heir to the duchy of Guelders, invaded by Charles V., was with Count Mansfeld in the duke of Orleans' army.

The king of France has still another army in Piedmont. The emperor is astonished to find France, which he had so often oppressed, still mistress of such a force, and so many resources. War is waged equally between them, without any advantageous decision for either one party or the other. The Council of Trent assemble during this war. The imperialists arrive there on January 28. The Protestants refuse to attend, and the council is suspended.

1543 — On August 26 is completed at Nuremberg that transaction of the duke of Lorraine with the Germanic body, whereby his duchy is acknowledged an independent sovereignty, and exempt from the charge of paying to the imperial chamber two-thirds of the tax of an elector.

In the meantime there is published a new league against Francis I., between Charles V. and Henry VIII. Thus do princes quarrel, and thus do they reunite. That very Henry VIII., whose excommunication Charles had procured, for having repudiated his aunt, allies himself to him who was thought to be his irreconcilable enemy. Charles at length attacks Guelderland, and possesses himself of all that country belonging to the duke of Cleves, ally to Francis I. The duke of Cleves asks him for pardon, upon his knees. The emperor makes him renounce

the sovereignty of the duchy of Guelders, and gives him the investiture of Cleves and of Juliers.

He takes Cambray, about which, although a free town, the empire and France had wrangled. No sooner had Charles V. leagued with the king of England to assail France, but Francis I. calls the Turks to his assistance a second time. Cheredin, their admiral, comes with galleys to Marseilles. He goes to the siege of Nice with the count d'Enghien. He takes that town, but the castle is succored by the Imperialists, and Cheredin withdraws to Toulon. This descent of the Turks was not memorable, because they had been armed in the name of the most Christian king.

At the same time Charles V. makes war against France and Picardy in Piedmont, and in Roussillon; while he treats with the pope and the Protestants, while he presses Germany to secure him from the Turkish invasions, he wages war against the king of Denmark.

Christian II., kept in prison by those who had been formerly his subjects, had made Charles V. heir to his three kingdoms, which he no longer possessed, and which were elective. Gustavus Vasa reigns peaceably in Sweden. The duke of Holstein had been elected king of Denmark in 1536. It was this king of Denmark, by name Christian III., who attacked the emperor of Holland with a fleet of forty ships. But a peace is soon arranged. This Christian III. renews with his two brothers, John and

Adolphus, the ancient treaty relating to the duchies of Holstein and of Schleswig. John and Adolphus, and their descendants, were to possess these duchies in common with the kings of Denmark.

Charles assembles at that time a great diet at Spires, at which Ferdinand, his brother, and all the electors and princes, Catholic as well as Protestant, are present. Charles V. and Ferdinand there demand succor against the Turks and against the king of France. There they gave Francis I. the names of Benegad, Barbarian, and the Enemy of God. The king of France intends to send ambassadors to this great diet. He despatches a herald to procure him a passport, and they put his herald in prison.

The diet grants him subsidies and troops; but these only for six months. They consist of but four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot; but a feeble assistance for a prince who had no great hereditary dominions.

The emperor cannot obtain this succor without doing much in favor of the Lutherans. He gains an important point by obtaining from this diet that the imperial chamber of Spires shall be made up of one-half Lutherans and the other half Catholics, of which the pope loudly but vainly complains.

The old admiral, Barbarossa, who had passed the winter at Toulon and Marseilles, again cruises on the coast of Italy, and carries off his galleys, laden with plunder and slaves, to Constantinople, where he

finished a career that had been a long time fatal to Christianity.

The king of France gathered a less odious and more honorable success from the battle of Cérisoles, which Count d'Enghien gained in Piedmont over the marquis del Vasto, a famous general of the emperor, on April 11. Yet this victory could not open a passage to the French in the Milanese, while the emperor penetrates to Soissons and menaces Paris.

Henry VIII. is, for his part, in Picardy. Notwithstanding the battle of Cérisoles, France is in more danger than ever. Nevertheless, by one of those mysteries which history can scarcely ever clear up, Francis I. makes an advantageous peace. To what can this be attributed, but the mistrusts mutually entertained of each other by the kings of France and of England? This peace is concluded on September 18, at Crépy. This treaty provides that the duke of Orleans, second son of the king of France, shall espouse a daughter, either of the emperor or of the king of the Romans, and that he shall have the Milanese, or the Low Countries. This appears to be a very extraordinary alternative. Charles, in parting with the Milanese, bestows only a fief of the empire, but in giving up the Low Countries he strips his son of his inheritance.

As for the king of England, his conquests are ended at the town of Boulogne, and France is preserved from every attempt.

1545 — The Council of Trent opens in the month of April. The Protestants declare that they will not acknowledge it for a council. The civil war begins. Henry, duke of Brunswick, stripped, as we have seen, of his possessions by the league of Smalcald, repossesses them by the assistance of his brother, the archbishop of Bremen, where he puts all to fire and sword.

Philip, the famous landgrave of Hesse, and Maurice of Saxony, the nephew of George, reduce him to the last extremities. He surrenders to these princes at discretion, marching bareheaded, together with his son Victor, among the troops of the conqueror. Charles approves of, and compliments these dangerous victors. He keeps fair with them as yet.

As soon as the council meets, Paul III., with the consent of the emperor, gives, in the most solemn manner, the investiture of Parma and Placentia to his eldest son, Peter Louis Farnese, whose son Octavius had already married the widow of Alexander de Medici, who was Charles V.'s bastard. This coronation of a pope's bastard made a strange contrast with the council convoked to reform the church.

The elector palatine made use of that opportunity to renounce the Roman communion. Luther dies soon after at Eisleben, Feb. 18, 1545, reckoning according to the old calendar. He had had the satisfaction of withdrawing one-half of Europe from the

Roman church, and he esteemed this glory beyond any that conquest can bestow.

1546 — The death of the duke of Orleans, who was to have married the emperor's daughter, and to have had either the Low Countries or the Milanese, removes one uneasiness of Charles. However, he had others that were very sufficient: the Protestant princes of the league of Smalcald had effectually divided Germany into two parties. In the one, there was scarcely more acknowledged than the name of emperor; in the other they did not openly disavow his authority, but then they respected it as little as if it had been entirely abolished among the Protestant princes.

These princes show their credit in managing the peace between the kings of France and of England. They send ambassadors to these two kingdoms; the peace is concluded, and Henry VIII. favors the league of Smalcald.

Lutheranism had made such progress that the elector of Cologne, Herman von Neuwied, although an archbishop, introduced it in his territories and waited only a fair opportunity to secularize both himself and his electorate. Paul III. excommunicates and deprives him of his archbishopric. A pope might excommunicate whom he pleased, but it was not so easy for him to deprive a prince of the empire of his dominions. To that Germany must consent. The pope in vain orders that they should acknowledge Adolphus de Schaumburg, the archbishop's

coadjutor, but not the elector's coadjutor. Charles V. always acknowledges the elector Herman, and threatens him to the end that he should give no assistance to the princes of the league of Smalcald; but the year following Herman is at length deposed, and Schaumburg has his electorate.

A civil war already begins on account of Henry of Brunswick, who is detained prisoner by the landgrave of Hesse. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Kulmbach, joins with John of Brunswick, the prisoner's nephew, to deliver and avenge him. The emperor encourages, and in an underhand way assists them.

At that time the troops of the princes and of the confederate towns take the field. Charles, no longer able to dissemble, begins by obtaining of Paul III. about ten thousand foot and five hundred light horse, for six months, paying two hundred thousand Roman crowns, and being granted a bull for levying one-half of one year's revenue belonging to the ecclesiastical benefices of Spain, and to alienate monasterial possessions to the amount of five hundred thousand crowns. He dared not have demanded the same concessions from the churches of Germany. The Lutherans were too near neighbors, and many churches would have rather secularized themselves than have submitted to pay.

The Protestants are already masters of all the passes of the Tyrol, and extend themselves thence to the Danube. The elector of Saxony, John Fred-

erick, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse, march by the way of Franconia. Philip, a prince of the house of Brunswick, and his four sons, three princes of Anhalt, and George of Würtemberg, uncle to duke Ulric, are all in his army. The counts of Oldenburg, of Mansfeld, of Ottingen, of Henneberg, of Fürstenberg, and many other princes, are seen at the head of their troops. The towns of Ulric, of Strasburg, of Nördlingen, and of Augsburg send out their forces also. There are eight regiments of Swiss Protestants. This army consisted of more than sixty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse.

The emperor, who had but very few troops, nevertheless acts as master, and puts the elector of Saxony under the ban of the empire at Ratisbon, on July 18. He soon has an army strong enough to support his edict. The ten thousand Italians sent by the pope arrive; six thousand Spaniards, being his old regiments from the Milanese and from Naples, join themselves to his Germans; but, though he should have three nations armed, he has not as yet an army equal to that of the league, when reinforced by the soldiery of the elector palatine.

There are several slight skirmishes. Several posts and towns, as in all other wars, are taken and retaken.

The emperor is preserved by a Protestant prince. Maurice, marquis of Meissen and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony, nephew to George, and kinsman to the landgrave of Hesse, the same to whom the land-

grave and elector of Saxony had preserved his dominions, and whose tutor the elector had been, forgets his duty to these, his neighbors, and sides with the emperor, who promises not to molest him in his religion of Lutheranism; and this assurance serves him as a pretext for his conduct towards his subjects.

He assembles ten thousand foot and three thousand horse; makes a diversion in Saxony; defeats the elector's troops, and is the first cause of the misfortune of the allies. The king of France sends them two hundred thousand crowns. This was enough to keep discord on foot, but not to make their party victorious.

The emperor gains ground daily. Most of the towns of Franconia surrender, and are heavily taxed.

The elector palatine, one of the princes of the league, throws himself at Charles's feet and asks his pardon. Almost all the country as far as Hesse-Cassel is subdued.

Then Pope Paul III. withdraws his ten thousand men, for whose service he had only articled six months. He fears assisting the emperor too much, even against the Protestants. Charles is not much weakened by this loss. The death of the king of England, Henry VIII., happens on January 28, and a disorder which at the same time hastens the dissolution of Francis I. deprives the league of Smalcald of two powerful protectors.

1547 — Charles easily succeeds in detaching the

old duke of Würtemberg from the league. He was so irritated at the revolts to which religion had given a pretext that he attempted establishing at Naples an inquisition of the same sort with that so long settled in Spain; but this tribunal is no sooner set up there than it is abolished, having caused a most violent sedition. The emperor liked much better draining the Neapolitans of money to assist him in suppressing the league of Smalcald than to persist in forcing upon them an inquisition, whence he could reap no advantage.

The league seems almost destroyed by the submission of the Palatinate and of Würtemberg, but acquires new strength from the junction of the citizens of Prague, and several of the cantons of Bohemia, who revolt against their sovereign, Ferdinand, and go to succor the confederates. Albert of Brandenburg, margrave of Kulmbach, surnamed Alcibiades, of whom we have often spoken, was in reality for the emperor; but his troops are defeated, and he is taken prisoner by the elector of Saxony.

To recompense the loss of the elector of Brandenburg, John the Severe, all Lutheran as he is, takes arms in favor of the head of the empire, and assists Ferdinand against the Bohemians.

All things were in confusion, and nothing heard of but battles and ravages towards the Elbe. At length the emperor passes the Elbe with a very strong army near Mühlberg, accompanied by his brother and his brother's children, Maximilian and

Ferdinand, the duke of Alva being his principal general.

The army of the duke of Saxony is attacked April 24. This battle of Mühlberg was decisive; and it is affirmed that in it there were but forty men killed on the side of the emperor. This is almost incredible. The elector of Saxony, being wounded, is taken prisoner, with the young prince Ernest of Brunswick. On May 12, Charles causes the elector to be condemned to lose his head, by advice of council. The severe duke of Alva presided at this trial. The secretary of the council signified his sentence to the elector on the same day, who was playing at chess with Prince Ernest of Brunswick.

Duke Maurice, who was to have had his electorate, has the easily acquired glory of obtaining pardon for him. Charles grants him his life, on condition that he renounce, for himself and his children, the electoral dignity in favor of Maurice. They leave him the town of Gotha and its dependencies, having first demolished the fortress. From him are descended the dukes of Gotha and of Weimar. Duke Maurice engages to pay him a pension of fifty thousand golden crowns yearly, and to advance him one hundred thousand at one time towards the payment of his debts. All those who had been made prisoners, particularly Albert of Brandenburg and Henry of Brunswick, were set at liberty; but the elector still remains the prisoner of Charles.

His wife, Sibylla, sister to the duke of Cleves,

tearfully throws herself at the emperor's feet to request her husband's liberty, but in vain.

The elector's allies are soon dispersed. The landgrave of Hesse thinks only of submitting, which he is allowed to do conditionally: that he come to embrace the knees of the emperor; that he raze all his fortresses, except Cassel or Zingenheim; paying besides one hundred and fifty thousand golden crowns.

The new elector, Maurice of Saxony, and the elector of Brandenburg, promise, under their hands, to the landgrave, that they will make no attempt upon his liberty. They give security, and consent to be summoned to a court of justice either by him or his children; and in case of failure, to undergo such treatment as the emperor shall think breach of faith deserves.

Upon these assurances the landgrave submits to everything. Granvelle, bishop of Arras, afterwards cardinal, settles the conditions, which Philip signed. We have always been assured that this prelate deceived the unfortunate prince, who had expressly stipulated that he should not be detained a prisoner in coming to ask the emperor's pardon. Granvelle wrote that he should not *always* be detained a prisoner. There needed but a *w* in place of an *in* to cause this strange difference in the German language. The words of the treaty ought to have been *nicht mit einigem Gefängniss,* and Granvelle wrote *ewigem.*

The landgrave was remiss in revising the treaty.

He imagined it was as it should have been, confiding in which, he went and threw himself at the emperor's feet. When he imagined that he might retire in safety, he was arrested and kept a long time in the emperor's train. The conqueror seized upon all the artillery of John Frederick, elector of Saxony, of the landgrave of Hesse, and also of the duke of Würtemberg. He confiscated the possessions of many of the chiefs of the party. He imposed taxes on all those whom he had vanquished, not excepting the towns that had only assisted them. It is pretended that in this manner he raised one million six hundred thousand golden crowns.

Ferdinand, king of the Romans, on his part punishes the Bohemians, depriving the citizens of Prague of their privileges and their arms, many of whom were condemned to death, and others to perpetual imprisonment. The taxes and confiscations were immense. These never fail to have a considerable part in the vengeance of sovereigns.

The Council of Trent was dispersed during these troubles. The pope was inclined to transfer it to Bologna.

The emperor had conquered the league, but not the Protestant religion. Those of that communion demand, in the Diet of Augsburg, that the Protestant divines shall have a deliberative voice in the council.

The emperor was more dissatisfied with the pope than with the Protestant divines. He could not forgive him for having recalled the troops of the Church

in the heat of the war of Smalcald. He makes him feel his anger on account of Parma and Placentia. He had permitted the holy father to give the investiture of it to his bastard son, when he had a mind to keep fair with him; but when dissatisfied, he recollected that Parma and Placentia are dependent on the Milanese, and that it was the emperor alone who ought to give the investiture. Pope Paul III., alarmed at the power of Charles V., negotiates against him with Henry II. and the Venetians.

In these circumstances, the son of the pope, odious for his crimes all over Italy, was assassinated by the conspirators. The emperor then possesses himself of Placentia, taking it from his kindred, notwithstanding his paternal tenderness for Margaret, his daughter.

1548 — The emperor quarrels with the pope and favors the Protestants a little more. He had always designed the council to be in some German town, and Pope Paul III. transferred it to Bologna. This added fresh fuel to the quarrel subsisting on account of Placentia. On the one side the pope threatened the emperor with excommunication, and thereby gave the Protestants a new opportunity of reflecting on him, who held the spiritual arms employed by the pope in favor of his children, in that ridiculous light they merited. On the other hand, Charles V. made himself in some measure the head of religion in Germany.

On May 15 the Grand Interim was published in

the Diet of Augsburg. This was a formulary of faith and discipline; the tenets were Catholic, except that they permitted the communion in both kinds to the laity and marriage to the priests. Many indifferent ceremonies were sacrificed to the Lutherans, to engage them to receive such things as were more essential.

This regulation was reasonable; therefore it contented nobody. The people were too unsettled. Both the Papists and the Lutherans complained, and Charles V. perceives that to win battles is easier than to govern opinions. Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, in order to oblige him, in vain endeavors to have the new form received in his dominions; but the Protestant ministers were stronger than he. The elector of Brandenburg and the elector palatine receive the Interim. The landgrave of Hesse submits to it in hope of obtaining his liberty, in which he is nevertheless deceived.

John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony, although a prisoner, refuses to sign it. His example is followed by many princes and several towns. The clergy in general cry out against the peace presented them by the Interim.

The emperor contents himself with threatening them; and as he leans more to the pope than to the Lutherans at that time, he decrees by the diet that the council should return to Trent, and charges himself with the care of transferring it.

The Low Countries are in this diet put under the

care of the Germanic body. They are declared free from the taxes which the states were to pay the empire, and from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, though included in the tenth circle. They are not obliged to be in any way serviceable to the empire, but in case of a war with the Turks, then they were to contribute as much as three electors. These rules were subscribed by Charles V. on June 26. The people of Valais are put under the imperial ban on account of not having paid their taxes, from which they are this day exempt, because they are known to have become free.

The city of Constance does not receive the Interim until it is put under the ban of the empire.

The city of Strasburg prevails so far as to procure the Interim to take effect in that district with respect only to the Catholic churches, and that Lutheranism shall be publicly professed.

Christian III., king of Denmark, receives the investiture of the duchy of Holstein, in common with his brothers, John and Adolphus, by the hands of his ambassadors.

Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, espouses Mary, his cousin, the emperor's daughter. This marriage is celebrated at Valladolid towards the latter part of September, and Maximilian and Mary are conjointly regents of Spain, which is, notwithstanding, governed by a council named by Charles V.

1549 — The emperor retired to Brussels, causes

the provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and the Artois to do homage to his eldest son, Philip.

The Council of Trent is still divided. There were some few prelates there in the emperor's interest. The pope had called together some others at Bologna. A schism was much dreaded. The pope indeed feared that the house of Bentivoglio would, under the emperor's protection, re-enter Bologna, of which Julius II. had dispossessed them. He dissolves the Council of Bologna.

Octavio Farnese, kinsman to Charles V. and grandson to Paul III., has equal cause to complain of his father-in-law and his grandfather. His father-in-law detains Placentia away from him, being at variance with the pope; and his grandfather keeps him out of Parma, because he had a dispute with the emperor. He attempts, however, to seize upon Parma without success. It is pretended that the pope died of the griefs heaped upon him by his family and the emperor; but ought not they who advance this to remember to add, that he was eighty-one years of age?

1550 — The arms of Solyman were turned towards the Euphrates, so that the empire was not at all disturbed by the Turks. The Persians preserve Austria, but the Turks remain still masters of the greatest part of Hungary.

Henry II., king of France, seems very easy. The affairs of the council and those of Placentia gave considerable uneasiness to the new pope, Julius III.

The emperor has the better in the Interim, which is still the occasion of vexation in Germany. What must people think to see men so little scrupulous as Paul III., Julius III. and Charles V. decide upon religion?

The powerful town of Magdeburg was in league with the town of Bremen, and carried on a war against the duke of Mecklenburg. The emperor condemns these two towns, and commits the reduction of Magdeburg to Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, whom he irritates by giving him this mark of his confidence. Maurice justifies the ambition which had stripped his tutor and his kinsman of the electorate of Saxony, by the laws attaching him to the head of the empire. But he thought his honor lost by the imprisonment of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse; who, notwithstanding his security and that of the elector of Brandenburg, was still detained a captive. These two princes press the emperor continually to redeem their word. Charles takes the singular resolution of freeing them from their promise. The landgrave endeavors to escape, which cost some of his domestics their heads.

The elector of Saxony, thus dissatisfied with Charles V., is in no great haste to fight for an emperor whose power all the princes felt so despotic. He does nothing against Magdeburg. He lets them quietly beat the duke of Mecklenburg, whom they take prisoner, and the emperor begins to repent that he had given Maurice the electorate. He

had too much reason to be sorry for it. It was Maurice's intention to make himself head of the Protestant party, and to engage in his interests several towns as well as Magdeburg, and by the means of this newly-acquired power to balance that of the emperor. Upon these principles he already treats with Henry II., and a new storm is brewing in the empire.

1551 — Charles V., whom one would have imagined in the fulness of power, was nevertheless prodigiously embarrassed. The Protestant party could not be attached to him, nor yet could they be destroyed. The affair of Parma and Placentia, in which the king of France began to meddle, exhibited the prospect of an approaching war. The Turks were still in Hungary, and in Bohemia almost everybody revolted against his brother, Ferdinand.

Charles imagined he should give additional weight to his authority by engaging his brother to part with his title of king of the Romans, and his claim of succeeding to the empire, in favor of his son, Philip. Paternal tenderness might have suggested this design, but it is certain that the imperial authority stood in need of a chief who, being master of Spain and of the new world, had been also sufficiently powerful to control at the same time his enemies and the princes of the empire. It is also certain that the princes saw thereby their prerogatives in danger, and submitted, not without difficulty, to the emper-

or's views. They contributed only to incense Ferdinand, and embroil the two brothers.

Charles comes to an open rupture with Ferdinand, demands the deposition of the electors, and requires their votes in favor of his son. He reaps nothing from this undertaking but the mortification of being refused, and of seeing the elector palatine with the electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg openly oppose his design.

The elector Maurice at length enters Magdeburg upon condition that, though he had taken this town in the name of the emperor, he subdued it for himself. The same ambition which had prompted him to receive the electorate of Saxony at the hands of Charles V. now spurred him on to unite against that prince with Joachim, elector of Brandenburg; Frederick, the count palatine; Christopher, duke of Würtemberg; Ernest, marquis of Baden-Durlach, and several other princes. This league was infinitely more dangerous than that of Smalcald. Henry II., king of France, a young, enterprising prince, joins the league. He was to furnish two hundred and forty thousand crowns during the first three months of the war, and sixty thousand crowns each month following. He makes himself master of Cambray, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, protecting them as vicar of the empire; a singular sort of title, which he then assumed for a pretext as if he had been really one.

The king of France had already seized on the affair of Parma as a sufficient cause for carrying the war

into Italy. It does not appear in the order of things that it was he who should have protected Octavio Farnese against the emperor, his father-in-law; but it was very natural for Henry II. to leave nothing unessayed towards the recovery of the duchy of Milan, to which his predecessors had always pretensions.

Henry also unites with the Turks, according to the plan of Francis I., and the admiral Dragut, a man not less formidable than Cheredin, surnamed Barbarossa, had been, made a descent upon the coast of Sicily, and pillaged the town of Augusta.

The army of Solyman at the same time advances in Hungary. Julius III. was the only person who took the part of Charles V., with whom he united against his kinsman, Octavio Farnese; though at bottom the interests and pretensions of the pope and the emperor were very different, each pretending a right of sovereignty over Parma and Placentia.

The French also carry the war into Piedmont and Montferrat. The emperor is at one and the same time obliged to oppose a formidable army of Turks in Hungary, one-half of Germany leagued and armed against him, and a king of France, young, rich and well served, impatient to signalize himself and to repair the misfortunes of his predecessors.

Charles and Ferdinand are reconciled by interest and danger. They have at length some success in Hungary.

Ferdinand was at the same time happy enough to

get Transylvania. The widow of John Zápolya, queen of Hungary, who was a queen only in name, governed Transylvania in the name of her son, Stephen Sigismund, under the protection of the Turks; a protection so very tyrannical that she was weary of it. She is induced by Martinusius, bishop of Waradin, afterwards cardinal, to exchange Transylvania with Ferdinand for some possessions in Silesia, such as Oppeln and Ratibor. Never did queen make so bad a bargain. Ferdinand declares Martinusius vaivode of Transylvania. This cardinal governs in Ferdinand's name, with authority and courage. He puts himself at the head of the Transylvanians to march against the Turks, whom he assists the Imperialists to repel. But Ferdinand, beginning to mistrust him, causes him to be assassinated by Pallavicino in the castle of Wintz.

The pope was at that time too closely connected with the emperor to dare inquire into the cause of this assassination. However, he excommunicated Ferdinand the year following—an excommunication productive of neither noise nor effect, being one of those which have been often called *brutum fulmen.* It was nevertheless put in practice, when such men as spoke in the name of the Divinity imagined they had a right in His name to set themselves above such sovereigns as abused their power to excess; but those who judge of kings ought themselves to be irreprehensible.

1552 — Maurice, the elector of Saxony, throws off

his mask and publishes a manifesto, declaring himself allied to the king of France, to obtain the liberty of John Frederick, the very man whom he had dispossessed, the enlargement of the landgrave of Hesse, and for the support of his religion.

He is joined by Joachim, elector of Brandenburg. William, son of the imprisoned landgrave of Hesse; Henry Otho, elector palatine, and Albert of Mecklenburg, are up in arms before the emperor has drawn together any troops.

Maurice and his confederates march to the defiles of Tyrol, and drive out the few Imperialists who possessed them. The emperor and his brother Ferdinand are nigh being taken prisoners, and save themselves by a disorderly flight. Charles always carries with him the old elector of Saxony as a prisoner. He offers him his liberty. That he refused to accept it is almost unaccountable. Perhaps, if the truth was known, the emperor did not offer it.

Nevertheless, about the beginning of April, the king of France seizes upon Verdun, Toul, and Metz. He takes Hagenau and Weissenburg. Thence he turns off towards Luxemburg and possesses himself of several towns.

To add to the emperor's disgraces, he is informed in his flight that the pope had abandoned his interest and declared himself neutral between France and him. It was about this time that his brother Ferdinand was excommunicated. It had been much more to the pope's honor that these censures were not

passed at a time when they seemed the effects of politics.

In the midst of these troubles the fathers of the council withdraw themselves from Trent, and the council is again suspended.

In these unhappy times all Germany is a prey to devastation. Albert of Brandenburg plunders all the commanderies of the Teutonic order, as well as Bamberg, Nuremberg, Würzburg, and many towns of Suabia. The confederates destroy by fire and sword the dominions of the elector of Mentz, Worms, Spires, and lay siege to Frankfort.

In the meantime the emperor, having retired to Passau and assembled an army after so many disgraces, brings the confederates into bounds. A peace is concluded on August 12. By this renowned Peace of Passau he grants a general amnesty to all who had borne arms against him since the year 1546. The Protestants not only obtain a free exercise of their religion, but are also admitted into the imperial chamber, whence after the victory of Mühlberg they had been excluded. It is some matter of surprise that the liberty of the landgrave of Hesse was not included in this treaty, he remaining still confined in the fort of Rheinfels until he should give security for his fidelity. Nor is it less wonderful that nothing was stipulated in favor of John Frederick, the former elector of Saxony.

The emperor, nevertheless, a short time after, sets this unfortunate prince at liberty and permits

him to return into Thuringia, of which he was still master.

The happy Maurice of Saxony, having crowned his religion with laurels and humbled the emperor, enjoys the additional glory of defending him. He leads sixteen thousand men into Hungary; notwithstanding such assistance Ferdinand finds it impossible to keep possession of Upper Hungary without submitting to the states and paying an annual tribute of twenty thousand golden crowns to Solyman.

This was a hapless year for Charles V. Piedmont, Montferrat, and Parma were overrun with French troops, and more powerful invasions were to be feared in the Milanese and the kingdom of Naples. Dragut infests all the Italian coasts.

Notwithstanding the taxes imposed upon the Germans after the battle of Mühlberg, and the treasures of Mexico, Charles's finances were drained. The vast extent of his territories, his voyages, and his wars, absorb them all. He borrows two hundred thousand golden crowns from the duke of Florence, Count de Medici, and gives him the sovereignty of Piombino and of the island of Elba. With his assistance he supports himself in some measure in Italy, and lays siege to Metz with a powerful army.

Albert of Brandenburg, the only Protestant prince who still held out against him, is reconciled and joins his forces; but the famous Francis, duke of Guise, who defended Metz with the flower of the French nobility, obliges them, on December 26, to

raise the siege, after having lain sixty-five days before the town. Charles loses in this undertaking more than one-third of his army.

1553 — Charles, to revenge himself for the insult that had been offered him at Metz, sends the counts de Lalain and de Rœux to lay siege to Térouane, which town is taken and destroyed.

Philibert Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, afterwards duke of Savoy, who soon became one of the greatest generals of the age, is put at the head of the imperial army. He takes Hesdin, which is razed to the ground in the same manner as Térouane. But the duke of Arscot, who commanded a considerable body of troops, suffers himself to be beaten, and the fortune of Charles is again at a stand.

The affairs of Italy remain in the same situation; nor are those of Germany settled. The restless Albert of Brandenburg, called Alcibiades, still heads a body of troops that subsist only by pillage. He ravages the dominions of Henry of Brunswick, and of Maurice, elector of Saxony.

The elector Maurice gives him battle near Hildesheim in the month of July, in which he defeats Albert, but is himself killed. This prince, though but thirty-two years of age, had acquired the character of a good commander and a great politician. He is succeeded by his brother, Augustus.

Albert the Alcibiades still continues the civil war. The imperial chamber proceeds against him; notwithstanding which he continues his depreda-

tions, but at length, wanting men and money, takes refuge in France. The emperor, better to secure that prodigious power, which had received so many additions and diminutions, concludes the marriage of his son, Philip, with Mary, queen of England, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catharine of Aragon.

Though the parliament of England made it an additional clause in the marriage contract that the alliance between England and France should still subsist, Charles had nevertheless hopes, and those not ill-grounded, that this alliance would soon be broken. It was in reality to arm England against France that he gave that kingdom to his son as sovereign, and had Mary had children, the house of Austria would have seen all the states of Europe from the Baltic Sea, France excepted, subservient to its laws.

1554 — Charles gives up the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his son Philip, before that prince embarks for England, where he lands in July, and is crowned with Mary, his spouse, in the same manner as King William has since been crowned with another Mary, but with nothing of William's power.

The war between Charles V. and Henry II. is still carried on upon the frontiers of France and Italy with varying success, but still in a sort of equilibrium.

The troops of France still remained in Piedmont and Montferrat, though their number was inconsiderable. Nor were the forces of the emperor in the

Milanese very numerous. It seemed as if they were drained on both sides..

Cosmo, duke of Florence, takes up arms in behalf of the emperor. Siena, apprehensive of falling one day into the power of the Florentines, as it afterwards happened, was protected by the French. Medichino, marquis of Marignan, general of the Florentine forces, gains a victory over the French troops and their allies on August 2. In commemoration of this victory, which was gained on St. Stephen's day, Cosmo instituted the order distinguished by the name of this saint.

1555 — Ernest, count of Mansfeld, governor of Luxemburg, was very near to getting possession of the town of Metz, by the intrigues of a Franciscan friar, though the emperor had not been able to subdue it with fifty thousand men. This friar's name was Leonard. He was keeper of a convent, had been confessor to the duke of Guise, and was greatly respected in the town. Through his means, for several days, many German, Spanish, and Italian veterans entered the town disguised like Franciscan friars, under pretence of a general chapter, which was soon to be held therein.

The conspiracy was discovered by a Carthusian; Father Leonard is arrested, and found dead on the following day. His body is carried to the gallows, and the people are satisfied with making eighteen Franciscan friars assist at his gibbeting.

The ancient papal policy revives under Pope

Paul IV., of the house of Caraffa. This policy, as has been seen in the course of this work, was always to prevent the emperor from becoming too powerful in Italy.

The pope seems to have forgotten the Council of Trent. All his thoughts are bent upon making war in the kingdom of Naples and the Milanese with the assistance of France, to procure if possible, these principalities for his nephews. In case Henry II. shall furnish new troops, he engages to join them with ten thousand men.

The war begins to grow more spirited than ever. Charles saw it impossible for him to have one peaceful moment. He was tormented by the gout, and the weight of such a variety of affairs became painful to him. He had for a long time borne a principal part in all the transactions of Europe. He resolves to finish his course by the most singular action of his life, that of abdicating his crowns and the empire.

While he prepared to renounce so many sovereignties that he might seclude himself in a monastery, he confirms the liberty of the Protestants in the Diet of Augsburg. He gives up to them the ecclesiastical revenues upon which they had seized, and on their account, the form of oath administered to the councillors of the imperial chamber is changed to swearing by the gospel, instead of by the saints as formerly. Thus does the conqueror of Mühlberg

give way to necessity, and on the eve of assuming the monkish cowl, acts like a philosopher.

On November 24, he surrenders the Low Countries to his son Philip, in presence of the states assembled at Brussels; and Spain, and the new world, together with the hereditary province, on January 10, following.

He pardons his kinsman, Octavio Farnese, giving up to him Placentia and the Novarese, after which he prepares himself to surrender the empire to his brother, the king of the Romans.

1556—All things disgusted him. The Turks were masters of part of Hungary as far as Buda, and troublesome to the rest. The Transylvanians bore their yoke impatiently. Protestantism spread itself in Austria, and the emperor had for a long time determined to divest himself of so many cares. Burdened with a premature and infirm old age, yet master of a soul free from illusion, not being able to cede the empire to his son, he gives it up to his brother, demanding previously the consent of the holy see; he certainly had not made this demand when elected emperor himself.

Pope Paul IV. abuses the submission of Charles V. by sending him a refusal. This pontiff was extremely well satisfied to see him quit the empire, and to mortify him at the same time.

Charles V., without consulting the pope any more, sends his abdication to Brussels on Sept. 17, 1556, and in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.

The Prince of Orange carries the crown and imperial sceptre to Ferdinand. Charles soon after embarks for Spain, and shuts himself up at Estremadura in the monastery of St. Yuste, of the order of St. Jerome.

It is a common notion that he repented of this proceeding; but this is an opinion founded merely on human weakness, which believes it impossible to quit without regret that which is so furiously envied by the world. Charles absolutely no more thought of that theatre, on which he had played so considerable a part, nor yet of the world which he had troubled.

Paul IV. engages the ecclesiastical electors neither to accept of the dismission of Charles V. nor to acknowledge Ferdinand. It was his business to sow the seeds of discord in the empire, his power in Italy acquiring thence new strength; and in truth, all the acts of the empire were published in the name of Charles V. until his death; a fact as important as it is true, and yet not taken notice of by any historian.

FERDINAND I.

FORTY-SECOND EMPEROR.

1557—The abdication of Charles V. leaves confirmed the power of the German princes. The house of Austria, divided into two branches, is as yet the most considerable in Europe; but the Spanish

branch, far superior to the other, entirely engrossed by views very different from that of the empire, no longer permits the Spanish, Italian, and Flemish troops to contribute to the imperial greatness.

Ferdinand has large possessions in Germany; but Upper Hungary, which is his, scarcely affords him sufficiency to maintain such troops as were necessary to make head against the Turks. The Bohemians seemed to bear their yoke with regret, and it is impossible for Ferdinand to be powerful, independent of the empire.

The first year of his reign is distinguished by the Diet of Ratisbon, which confirms the peace of religion, by reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau.

The elector palatine, the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Cleves, who were chosen as umpires, adjudge the counties of Darmstadt to Philip, landgrave of Hesse, and the county of Diatz to William of Nassau.

This year is marked by a sort of war, waged by an archbishop of Bremen, of the house of Brunswick, against Friesland. And here is evinced the vast utility of the wise institution of circles, and of directors of circles, set on foot by Frederick III. and Maximilian. The assembly of the circle of Lower Saxony re-establishes peace.

At length on February 28, the electors confirm the abdication of Charles and the sway of his brother, at Frankfort. An embassy is sent to the

pope, which he refuses to receive, still pretending Ferdinand was not emperor. The ambassadors protest, and then withdraw from Rome; Ferdinand is not the less acknowledged in Germany.

The duchy of Schleswig is still acknowledged independent of the empire.

1558—On Sept. 21, 1558, happens that great event, the death of Charles V. It is well known that, through a whimsical sort of devotion, a short time before his last illness, he caused his obsequies to be celebrated, himself assisting as a mourner; nay, that he was stretched on the bier in the middle of the church of St. Yuste, while they sang "*De Profundis.*" In this last action of his life he seemed to have possessed a little of the spirit of Joanna, his mother, and yet upon the throne he had always conducted himself like a politician, a hero, and a man not insensible to his pleasures. How many contrarieties united in his disposition! who, though possessed of more than monkish devotion, was supposed at his death to hold several of Luther's tenets. To what lengths will not human weakness and extravagance extend! Maximilian would willingly be pope. Charles V., though he died a monk, yet at his death is suspected of heresy.

Since the funeral rites of Alexander, nothing had been so superb as the obsequies of Charles V. in the manner in which they were conducted in the principal towns of his dominions. At Brussels they cost seventy thousand ducats. Expenses as noble

as these contribute to illustrate the memory of a great man, while they employ and encourage arts. Yet more durable monuments should have been raised than a show, transitory like this, which is certainly far from being sufficient. Something ought to be erected to immortality.

1559 — Ferdinand holds a diet at Augsburg, in which the ambassadors of Henry II., king of France, are introduced. France had just made peace at Cateau-Cambrésis with Philip II., king of Spain. The French by this peace preserved in Italy only Turin, and some other towns, which they afterwards gave up; but they kept Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which the emperor might have demanded, yet they are hardly spoken of in the diet. It is barely hinted to the ambassadors that, while France keeps possession of these three towns, it will be extremely hard for a good understanding to subsist between France and Germany.

The new pope, Pius IV., is not so inflexible as Paul IV., but soon acknowledges Ferdinand for emperor.

1560 — On November 29, the Council of Trent, after having been so long suspended, is at length re-established by a bull of Pius IV. He gives notice of the assembling of this council to all sovereigns; he even signifies it to the Protestant princes of Germany. But as the address of his letters was: "To our most dear son," those who did not choose to

acknowledge themselves children of the pope, send back his letter unopened.

1561 — Livonia, which had hitherto belonged to the empire, is divided from it and given up to Poland. The knights of Livonia, who were a branch of the knights of the Teutonic order, had been a long time masters of this province under the imperial protection. But these knights, unable to resist the Muscovites, and receiving no succor from Germany, give up this province to Poland. Sigismund, king of Poland, confers the duchy of Poland and the dignity of viceroy of Livonia on Godar Ketler. The meetings of the Council of Trent begin.

1562 — The ambassador of Bavaria contends with that of Venice for precedence. The Venetians are maintained in possession of their rank. The communion by bread and wine is one of the first things discussed in this council. The council neither allows nor forbids it to the seculars. The decree barely states, that the Church has very just reasons for prohibiting it, and that the fathers shall conduct themselves in this affair, entirely by the judgment of the pope, which shall be to them decisive.

On November 24 the electors at Frankfort unanimously declare Maximilian, son of Ferdinand, king of the Romans.

All the electors assist personally in their several functions at this ceremony, according to the tenure of the golden bull. This solemnity was rendered the

more glorious by the presence of an ambassador from Solyman, who signs a peace between the two emperors, whereby the limits of Austrian and Ottoman Hungary are regulated. Solyman begins to grow old, and is not so terrible as he has been. Nevertheless, this peace was of no long duration; but it was made at a time when the body of the empire was easy and happy.

1563 — This year is memorable for the dissolution of the Council of Trent. This long council, which was the last general one, neither served to soften nor subdue the enemies of the Roman church. They published some edicts concerning discipline, which were scarcely admitted in any Catholic country, and were not productive of any one great event.

The Council of Basel had rent the Church and set up an antipope. That of Constance kindled the fires of persecution, and was the cause of thirty years' war. That of Lyons deposed an emperor, and drew upon it his vengeance. That of Lateran stripped Count Raymond of his dominion of Toulouse, and Gregory VII., by the excommunication of Henry IV. in the eighth council of Rome, set all things in a flame. The fourth council of Constantinople, which was held against Photius in the time of Charles the Bald, was a scene of many disputes. The second of Nicæa, under Irenæus, was still more tumultuous and more disturbed by the disputes about images. The disputes of the Mono-

thelites were very near making the third council of Constantinople a bloody one. It is well known that great divisions actuated the councils held, on account of Arius. The Council of Trent was the only one which had been conducted with moderation.

1564 — On July 25 Ferdinand dies. A will that he had made twenty years before, that is in the year 1543, and which he did not contradict in his last moments, scattered afar the seeds of that war, which disturbed Europe almost two hundred years after.

This famous testament of 1543, stipulates that, in case of the failure of the male issue of either Ferdinand or Charles V., the Austrian territories shall revert to his daughter, Anne, and her issue. She was the second daughter of Ferdinand, and wife of Albert II., duke of Bavaria. This foreseen event happened in our days, and embroiled all Europe. Many unhappy occurrences would have been prevented, if the will of Ferdinand, as well as the marriage contract of his daughter, had been more clearly expressed.

It may be remarked, that this Anne, duchess of Bavaria, assumed the title of queen of Hungary in her marriage contract, as well as the rest of her sisters. They might indeed have called her queen without her being one, as she was called archduchess without possessing any archduchy. However, this custom was not followed.

Ferdinand, besides, by his last will, left Hungary,

Bohemia, and Upper and Lower Austria, to his son, Maximilian, king of the Romans. To his second son, Ferdinand, he bequeathed Tyrol and anterior Austria. To Charles he left Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and all his possessions in Istria.

The Austrian dominions were at that time all divided; but the empire, which still remained in that house, was the standard under which all the princes of that house reunited.

Ferdinand was neither crowned in Lombardy nor in Rome. The inutility of these ceremonies began to be perceived, and it was much more essential for the two principal branches of the imperial house, Spain and Austria, to hold a good intelligence with each other. It is that which renders Italy submissive, and brings the holy see to a dependence on that house.

MAXIMILIAN II.

FORTY-THIRD EMPEROR.

1564 —The empire, as we have already seen, without ceasing to be elective, becomes hereditary. The emperors since the time of Charles V. desist from crossing the Alps, to seek either an iron crown, or one of gold. The power of most weight in Italy was that of Philip II., who, though at the same time a vassal to the empire and to the holy see, governed not only in Italy but in Rome by his politics, and by the riches of the new world; the first gleanings

of which, and no more, his father had possessed, but he enjoyed its real sweets.

The empire under Maximilian II., as under Ferdinand I., was certainly Germany, paramount of Lombardy; but this Lombardy, being in the hands of Philip II., belonged rather to an ally than a vassal. Hungary became a dominion of the house of Austria, a dominion that constantly opposed the Turks, and was at it were the bulwark of Germany.

Maximilian, in the first year of his reign, is obliged, as his father and grandfather had been before, to carry on a war against Solyman.

This sultan, who had defeated the generals of Charles V. and of Ferdinand, makes war in the latter part of his life by his lieutenants. Transylvania furnished him with a pretext, where he wanted always to name a tributary vaivode, and John Sigismund, son of that queen of Hungary who had ceded her rights for some villages in Silesia, had put his hereditary dominions under the sultan's protection, choosing rather to be a sovereign and tributary to the Turks than a simple lord. The war is carried on in Hungary; and, in the month of January, Maximilian's generals take Tokay. Augustus, elector of Saxony, is the only prince who assists the emperor in this war. The thoughts of all the princes, both Catholic and Protestant, were bent on strengthening themselves. Religion at that time engrossed the attention of the people more than it

had ever divided them. The greater part of the Catholics in Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, in acknowledging the Council of Trent, stipulate barely, that they shall be admitted to communion with bread and wine; and the priests, who, before the breaking up of the Council of Trent, had been permitted to marry, desire that they may keep their wives. Maximilian II. prefers these two requests to the pope. Pope Pius IV., to whom the council had left the decision of the sacrament, allows the German laity to communicate as they please, but refuses leave to the priests to marry; besides, the laity were afterwards deprived of wine in their communion.

1565 — A treaty is made with the Turks, who still remain masters of Buda, and the prince of Transylvania continues under their protection.

Solyman sends Bacha Mustapha to besiege Zigeth. Nothing is better known than this siege, in which the fortune of Solyman expired.

1566 — Notwithstanding the weakness of the imperial power ever since the treaty of Passau, the legislative authority was still vested in the emperor; and was quite effectual when the princes, with whom it had to deal, were not too powerful.

Maximilian II. employs this authority against John Albert, duke of Mecklenburg, and Ulric, his brother; each of whom pretends to equal rights in the town of Rostock, from which the inhabitants of the town prove themselves to be exempt, whom the

two brothers make war upon, and unite in plundering.

The emperor has the credit of terminating this difference by an imperial commission.

Solyman's fleet takes the town of Chio from the Venetians. Maximilian thence takes occasion to demand in the Diet of Augsburg more powerful succors than had been granted to Charles V. in the time that Solyman was before Vienna. The Diet orders soldiers to be raised for him, and grants him the *Roman Months* for three years; a thing that they had never done before.

Count Serini, who commanded in Zigeth, is killed in defending it, after having with his own hand set the town on fire. The grand vizier sends his head to Maximilian with a message, that he ought to have hazarded his own head in coming to the defence of that town, since he had under his command one hundred and twenty thousand men.

The army of Maximilian, the death of Solyman, and the approach of winter, all contributed to stop the progress of the Turks.

The ill success of the imperial campaign was laid hold of by the states of Austria and Bohemia to support their demand of the free exercise of their religion, according to the confession of Augsburg.

About this time begin the troubles of the Low Countries, and Calvinism had already set France in a flame; but Maximilian, more happy than Philip II. or the king of France, absolutely refused his sub-

jects liberty of conscience, and his army, which had done him but little service against the Turks, maintains him in tranquillity at home.

1567.—This year was pregnant with misfortunes heaped upon the ancient branch of the electoral house of Saxony, which Charles V. had deprived of the electorate.

This electorate, given, as we have seen, to the younger branch, should have been an object of the elder's regret. A gentleman named Groumbach, who, with many of his accomplices, was proscribed for various crimes, retired to Gotha, the residence of John Frederick, son of him from whom the duchy and electorate of Saxony had been taken after the battle of Mühlberg.

Groumbach had principally in view the avenging himself on Augustus, elector of Saxony, to whom the care of carrying the prosecution against Groumbach into execution was committed. He had associated himself with several villains, together with whom he subsisted upon robbery and pillage, and in concert with these he sets on foot a design of assassinating the elector. One of the conspirators, being taken at Dresden, confesses the plot. The elector Augustus marches his troops under an imperial commission to Gotha. Groumbach, whom the duke of Gotha protected, was then in the town, together with several soldiers resolutely determined to share his fortune, be it what it might. The duke of Gotha's troops and the citizens defend their town,

but are at length forced to surrender. The duke John Frederick, as unfortunate as his father, is arrested, carried to Vienna, and thence transferred to Naples, while his dominions are given to his brother William. Groumbach and his accomplices are instantly executed.

1568—The troubles of the Low Countries increase. William the Silent, prince of Orange, now head of a party who founded the republic of the United Provinces, applies himself to the emperor as the principal chief of the Low Countries, which were always looked upon as belonging to the empire; and in effect the emperor sends his brother, Charles of Austria, archduke of Gratz, into Spain to soften Philip II., but he can neither prevail upon the king of Spain, nor hinder most of the Protestant princes of Germany from assisting the prince of Orange.

The duke of Alva, that bloody governor of the Low Countries, presses the emperor to deliver up to him the prince of Orange, who was at that time levying troops in Germany. The reply of Maximilian was, that the supreme jurisdiction of the Low Countries being vested in the empire, he ought for this purpose to address himself to the imperial diet. Such an answer showed very sufficiently, that the prince of Orange was a man whom they dared not arrest.

The emperor, without intermeddling at all in the quarrel, leaves the prince of Orange at the head of one party of German troops to make war on another

party of German troops. It was, however, natural for him to assist his cousin Philip in this affair; the more so, as he had made peace that very same year with Selim II., successor to the great Solyman. But apparently after this peace he was allowed no more *Roman Months.*

Yet so far was he from assisting his cousin, the king of Spain, in the reduction of his subjects in the Low Countries, who demand liberty of conscience, that he appears to disapprove the conduct of Philip in soon after permitting the Austrians to adopt the confession of Augsburg. He afterwards promises the pope to revoke that permission. All these things manifest his authority to be weak, confined, and unstable. It had been said that Maximilian feared the enemies of his communion as too powerful a party; and indeed the house of Brandenburg was entirely Protestant. A son of the elector, John George, chosen archbishop of Magdeburg, publicly professed the Protestant religion. A bishop of Verdun does the same. The duke of Brunswick, Julius, also embraced that religion, his subjects already professing it. The elector palatine and most of his country profess Protestantism. The Catholic religion hardly existed any longer in Germany, but with the ecclesiastical electors, the episcopal territories, and in the abbeys, as well as some commanderies of the Teutonic order, in the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Bavaria; and even there were many Protestants as well as in

Bohemia; all these things authorized the liberty Maximilian gave to the Protestant religion in Austria: but there is another stronger reason added; that is, the states of Austria had on this account promised him considerable subsidies.

1569 — In the midst of these wars of religion and politics, behold a dispute founded on vanity. Cosmo II., duke of Florence, and Alphonso, duke of Ferrara, contend for precedency. Rank had been settled in Germany by the diets; but there being no diets in Italy, the disputes about rank remained still undetermined. These two dukes were both related to the emperor. Francis, the hereditary prince of Florence, and the duke of Ferrara, had each of them married sisters of Maximilian. The two dukes leave their difference to his arbitration; but Pope Pius V., who looked upon the duke of Ferrara as his feudatory, and the duke of Florence as his ally, hastens to give a new title to Cosmo, conferring upon him with much ceremony the dignity of Grand Duke, as if the bare word "Grand" made some vast addition to power. Maximilian is extremely irritated at the pope's arrogating to himself a right of giving titles to the feudatories of the empire, and of anticipating his judgment. The duke of Florence pretends that he is no feudatory. The pope maintains, that he has not only the power of making grand dukes, but kings. The dispute grows more inflamed: but at length the

grand duke, who was very rich, was acknowledged by the emperor.

1570 — This year was held the Diet of Spires, in which most of the dominions of the unhappy duke of Gotha, who remains confined in Naples, are restored to his children. A peace is also there concluded between the emperor and John Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who is acknowledged sovereign of that province, renouncing his title of king of Hungary; a title vain above all others! since one part of the kingdom was possessed by the French, and the rest belonged to the Turks.

The great differences, which had so long troubled the peace of the North on account of Livonia, were there terminated. Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, all disputed about this province; and yet in Germany it was looked upon as a province of the empire. Sigismund, king of Sweden, cedes all his possessions in Livonia to Maximilian; the rest is put under the protection of the king of Denmark: they unite to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Muscovites. The town of Lübeck is comprehended in this treaty as a principal party. All its commercial privileges with Sweden and Denmark are confirmed. This town became still more powerful.

The Venetians, whom the Turks were every day despoiling of some town or other, had made a league with the pope and the king of Spain. The emperor refuses to come into it, fearing to bring the Otto-

man forces into Hungary, and Philip II. accedes merely through form.

The governor of the Milanese raises troops to enable him to seize upon the marquisate of Finale, belonging to the house of Caretto. The Genoese had also an eye upon this spot of ground, and were troublesome to the proprietor of it. France might have assisted them. The marquis of Caretto was at Vienna, where, in quality of vassal of the empire, he demanded justice; and in the meantime Philip II. seizes upon his dominions, easily finding means of prevailing in the imperial council.

1572 —After the death of Sigismund II., king of Poland, the last of the race of Jagellon, Maximilian in an underhand way, makes interest for the throne, which he flatters himself the republic of Poland will offer him by embassy.

The secret intrigues of Maximilian prove fruitless; for the republic, looking upon their throne to be worth the trouble of asking for, send no embassy.

1573 —The duke of Anjou, one of the competitors, is elected, on May 1, to the great discontent of the Protestant princes of Germany, who cannot, without horror, behold so near them a man stained with blood in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

1574 —The prince of Orange, who supported himself in the Low Countries by his valor and reputation against all the power of Philip II., holds an assembly of the lords and deputies from the principal towns of his party at Dordrecht, whither the

emperor sends an imperial commissary, apparently to support the majesty of the empire, and manage an accommodation between Philip and the confederates.

1575—Maximilian causes his eldest son, Rudolph, to be elected king of the Romans in the Diet of Ratisbon. Through long custom, apprehension of the Turks, and the convenience of having a chief able to support the imperial dignity by his own power, the possession of the imperial throne became necessarily lodged in the house of Austria.

The princes of the empire were not less masters of their own rights. The elector palatine furnished troops to the Calvinists of France, while those of the Low Countries were assisted by other princes.

The crown of France devolving to the duke of Anjou, king of Poland, by the death of Charles IX., he quits Poland as if he fled from a prison; and that throne being consequently declared vacant, Maximilian at length has the credit to get himself elected king of Poland on December 15.

But an opposing faction put a most atrocious affront on Maximilian, proclaiming as king Stephen Báthori, vaivode of Transylvania, the sultan's vassal; a man looked upon in the court of Vienna as a rebel and a usurper. The Polanders marry him to the sister of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the blood of the Jagellons.

John, czar of Muscovy, offers to take the part of Maximilian, hoping thereby to regain Livonia. The

court of Muscovy, unpolished as it was in those days, had nevertheless the same views it has so gloriously manifested in these.

The Ottoman court threatens to side with Stephen Báthori against the emperor. Thus politics appear to have been then the same that they are now.

Maximilian endeavors to engage the emperor in his quarrel; but the Protestants, instead of assisting him to become more powerful, content themselves with soliciting in the diet free liberty for the Protestant noblesse of the ecclesiastical countries publicly to profess the Augsburg confession.

1576 — Maximilian, uncertain of being able to support his election to the crown of Poland, departs this life on August 12, aged 49.

RUDOLPH II.

FORTY-FOURTH EMPEROR.

1577 — Rudolph, who had been crowned king of the Romans in the life of his father, holds the reins of the empire with a feeble hand. There were no other articles than those of Charles V. In the diets all things were conducted as usual. There were the same manners, the same interest; and the same form of government still prevailed. Rudolph barely promises, in the first diet held at Frankfort, to conform himself to the regulations of the preceding diets. It is remarkable, that in this diet the German princes proposed appeasing the dis-

turbances in the Low Countries by curtailing the authority, as well as the severity of Philip II., showing thereby that the interests of the princes and lords of Flanders were very dear to them, and that they would endeavor, as much as possible, to prevent the eldest branch of Austria from oppressing its vassals, whereby it set an example to the younger to tyrannize over theirs.

Such was the spirit of the Germanic body; and it was evident that the emperor Rudolph was not more absolute than Maximilian, since he could not prevent his brother, the archduke Matthias, from accepting the government of the Low Countries, on account of the confederates, who are armed against Philip II., so that on the one hand is seen Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V., governing Flanders in the name of Philip II., and the rebels headed on the other by his nephew Matthias. The emperor remains neutral, while Germany furnishes each side with mercenaries.

Rudolph is not more disturbed by the irruptions which the Muscovites made at that time in Livonia.

1578.—The Low Countries become a theatre of war, confusion, and politics. Philip II., in having neglected to endeavor to restore order in proper time, as Charles V. would have done, commits a fault never to be repaired. The archduke Matthias, contributing scarcely more than his name to the cause of the confederates, had less power than the prince of Orange, while the prince of Orange had

not sufficient to send him assistance. The prince palatine Casimir, tutor to the young elector, Frederick IV., who had marched into France with a little army to the assistance of the Protestants, comes with the remainder of this army, and some new troops, to assist theirs and the cause of the revolutionists in the Low Countries. The brother of Henry III., king of France, who bore the title of duke of Anjou, although a Catholic, was called in to the assistance of the confederates. Thus there were four powers endeavoring each to profit by these disturbances; the archduke, Prince Casimir, the duke of Anjou, and the prince of Orange; the whole four disunited, and Don John of Austria, famous for the battle of Lepanto, singly opposed them all. It is claimed that this same Don John aspired to the sovereignty. So many troubles sprung from Philip's having abused his power, and his not having supported that abuse by his presence.

Without any proof whatsoever, and purely from a desire of rendering him odious, Philip II. is accused of having hastened the death of his brother, Don John of Austria, who died October 1.

1579 — During the desolation of the Low Countries, and while that great commander Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, successor of Don John, supports the cause of Philip II. and of the Catholic religion, by arms, Rudolph, like his father, takes up the office of mediator. The crown of France, and Elizabeth, queen of England, furnish the con-

federates with men and money, and the emperor assists Philip only by good offices, which are ineffectual. Rudolph was by no means solicitous enough about his character, nor was he sufficiently powerful from the form which the empire had taken. His mediation is eluded by both parties. The inflexible Philip II. absolutely refuses liberty of conscience, and the prince of Orange chooses not to accept of a peace which would reduce him to the character of a private man.

1580—The prince of Orange had found the secret of resisting Farnese, and to rid himself of the archduke Matthias. This archduke lays down his equivocal government, and demands a pension from the states, which they assign him upon the episcopal revenues of Utrecht.

1581 — Matthias withdraws from the Low Countries, having done nothing but stipulated for his pension, one-half of which they retrench. The states-general, by a public edict, dated July 26, in a legal manner throw off the government of the king of Spain, but do not deny their belonging to the empire. Their situation, in respect to Germany, remains undetermined; and the duke of Anjou, who had been elected duke of Brabant, endeavoring to enslave the nation that he came to defend, is disconcerted and obliged to retire in the year 1583, leaving the prince of Orange more powerful than ever.

1582 — Pope Gregory XIII., having signalized

his pontificate by reforming the calendar, the Protestant princes, not only of Germany, but of all Europe, oppose the reception of this necessary reformation. They had no other reason for it, but that of its being Rome that administered this service. They feared making that court appear too respectable, should they receive instructions from it; and that, should the people receive astronomical laws from it, they perhaps would not refuse its religious ones. The emperor is obliged, in the Diet of Augsburg, to appoint the imperial chamber to observe the Julian style, made in the time of Cæsar, which, though it had been then good, was now bad.

A very extraordinary event disturbs the empire this year. Gebhard Truchsess, archbishop of Cologne, who was no priest, had embraced the confession of Augsburg, and at Bonn was privately married to Agnes of Mansfeld, a nun of the monastery of Guerichen. It was no extraordinary thing for a bishop to marry; but this bishop was an elector: he wanted to espouse his wife publicly, and to keep his electorate. An electorate is certainly a secular dignity. It might have happened very easily that the electorate of Cologne had been divided from the archbishopric; that the prelate had been at the same time a Lutheran bishop and an elector. At that time the only Catholic electors were the king of Bohemia, the archbishops of Mentz and of Trier. The empire seems well nigh falling into the hands

of the Protestants, and that alone might have given a new face to the affairs of Europe.

Gebhard Truchsess endeavors, without success, to introduce Lutheranism into Cologne. The chapter and senate were much more attached to the Catholic religion, sharing in a great measure the sovereignty with the elector, which they were afraid to lose. In effect, the elector, though a sovereign, was far from being absolute. Cologne is an imperial town, governed by its magistrates. Soldiers are raised on every side, and the archbishop fights for his mistress with success.

1583.—The Protestant princes take part with the elector of Cologne. The elector palatine, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, write in his favor to the emperor, to the chapter and senate of Cologne; but proceeded no further; and as they had no personal interest that should induce them to make war on account of this marriage, at least at present, they do not.

Truchsess is only assisted by some petty princes. The archbishop of Bremen, who had married as well as he, brings some cavalry to his assistance. The count von Solms and some Lutheran gentlemen of Westphalia send him troops in the heat of the dispute. The prince of Parma, on the other hand, sends in his favor to the chapter. A canon of the ancient house of Saxony, which is the same as that of Brunswick, commands the army of the chapter, and pretends it is a holy war.

The elector of Cologne, having now nothing to care for, celebrates his marriage publicly at Rosendal during this petty war. The emperor Rudolph concerned himself no further in this affair than in exhorting the archbishop to quit his church and his electorate; but he determines to preserve both his nun and his religion.

Pope Gregory XIII. excommunicates him as a rotten member, and orders the election of a new archbishop. This bull of the pope causes the Protestant princes to rebel; but they only make some motions. Ernest of Bavaria, bishop of Liège, of Freising, and Hildesheim, is chosen elector of Cologne, and maintains his election by force of arms.

The prince palatine, Casimir, is the only person who at that time assists the dethroned elector, and even that was for but a short time. The town of Bonn was soon the only one which Truchsess could call his own. The troops which had been sent by the duke of Parma, join his rival, and lay siege to Bonn, which is soon obliged to surrender.

1584—The old elector still wrestles with his ill fortune: he has some few troops left: these are defeated; and at length being neither sufficiently able nor happy to arm any considerable potentates in his favor, he has no other resource but that of retiring to The Hague, where, under the protection of the prince of Orange, he leads a life even beneath indifferent. The interior parts of the empire are at peace. The Catholics in general acknowledge the

new calendar. The treaty with the Turks is prolonged; but, in truth, at the expense of a tribute; and Rudolph imagines himself happy enough in being able to purchase peace from Amurath III.

1585 — Led by the example of Gebhard Truchsess, two other bishops renounce their bishoprics; the one is a son of William, duke of Cleves, who quits the diocese of Münster, that he may be able to marry; the other is the bishop of Minden, of the house of Brunswick.

1586 — Fanaticism does that for Philip II. which he had vainly endeavored for through a ten years' war; that is, delivers him from the prince of Orange.

This illustrious founder of the liberty of the United Provinces is assassinated by Balthazar Gerrard, a native of Franche-Comté. An attempt of this nature had been before essayed by a Biscayan named Jaurigni; but he was cured of the wound. Salcedo had conspired against his life; and it is observable, that Jaurigni and Gerrard had received the sacrament preparatory to this action.

Maurice II.'s son succeeds him at the age of eighteen. It was he who afterwards became the greatest general in Europe. The Protestant princes of Germany give him no assistance, though it was for the interest of their religion; but they send troops into France to the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., because the Calvinist party in France were able to pay their soldiers, and Maurice was not.

1587 — Prince Maurice still continues the war in the Low Countries against Alexander Farnese. He levies some troops among the Protestants of Germany at the expense of the states of Holland. This was all the assistance that he could possibly procure.

A new throne offers itself to the house of Austria, which honor contributes to show still more how very low was the credit of Rudolph.

Stephen Báthori, vaivode of Transylvania, and king of Poland, dying on Dec. 13, 1586, Fedor, czar of Muscovy, enters the lists to succeed him; but is unanimously rejected. One faction declares for Sigismund, king of Sweden, son of John III. by a princess of the blood of the Jagellons; another faction proclaims the emperor's brother, Maximilian. They both march into Poland at the head of their troops. Maximilian, being defeated, retires to Silesia, while his competitor is crowned.

1588 — Maximilian is a second time defeated by Zamoyski, the Polish general; he is shut up in a castle near Lublin, and his brother Rudolph can do no more for him than entreat Philip II. to engage Pope Sixtus V. to write in favor of the prisoner.

1589 — Maximilian is at last set at liberty, having renounced all title to the kingdom of Poland: he has an interview with Sigismund before his departure: it is remarkable that the title of majesty was not given him, because in Germany it was taken by none but the emperor.

1590—The only event which now concerns the empire is the war in the Low Countries, which lays waste the frontiers on the banks of the Rhine and the neighborhood of Westphalia. The districts of these provinces content themselves with complaining of each party. The languid spirit of the head had by this time infected the members of the empire.

1591—Henry IV., who had his kingdom of France to conquer, sends Viscount Turenne into Germany to bargain for troops with some of the Protestant princes. The emperor vainly opposes him. Christian, elector of Saxony, influenced by Viscount Turenne, supplies him both with men and money; but he died while this army was on the road to France, whereby only an inconsiderable part of it reached that kingdom. Nothing material besides happened at this time in Germany.

1592—A civil war is occasioned by a nomination to the bishopric of Strasburg, as had lately happened at Cologne on a different account. The people of Strasburg were Protestants: their bishop, who resided at Saverne, and was a Catholic, dies. The Protestants elect John George of Brandenburg, a Lutheran; the Catholics choose the cardinal of Lorraine. The emperor Rudolph appoints by commission one of his brothers, the archduke Ferdinand, to adjust the difference and conduct the administration. He is acknowledged neither by Catholics nor Protestants. The cardinal of Lorraine supports his right at the head of ten thousand men.

The cantons of Berne, of Zurich, and of Basel furnish troops to the Protestant bishop. They are joined by a prince of Anhalt, who returned from France, where he had unsuccessfully served Henry IV. This prince of Anhalt defeats the cardinal of Lorraine. This affair is put into arbitration the following year; and in the year 1603, it was at last agreed that the cardinal of Lorraine should remain bishop of Strasburg, paying one hundred and thirty thousand golden crowns to John George of Brandenburg. It was hardly possible to purchase a bishopric at a much dearer rate.

1593—A much more considerable affair rouses the indifference of Rudolph. Amurath III. breaks the league, and the Turks already lay waste Upper Hungary. The duke of Bavaria and the archbishop of Salzburg are the only persons who as yet furnish the emperor with troops, joining theirs to those that are supplied by the emperor's hereditary dominions.

Ferdinand, brother of Rudolph, had by his first wife, who was daughter of a senator of Augsburg, a son named Charles of Austria. This son was never acknowledged to be a prince; but no man better deserved to be one. A considerable body of troops were under his command. A count, Montecuculi, led another party. This was a name, the owners of which seemed to be ordained to fight successfully for the house of Austria. The Serini, the Nadastis, and the Palfis headed the Hungarian militia. The Turks were worsted in several engage-

ments, and Upper Hungary at length secured, Buda excepted, which still remained in the hands of the Ottomans.

1594—The Turks had taken the field about the month of June, and Rudolph held a diet at Augsburg to consult upon measures of opposition. Is it credible that a box was put up in all the churches of Germany for charitable contributions! This is the first instance of a war being supported by alms. However, the Imperial and Hungarian troops, though but indifferently paid, still fight with great courage. The command of this army is conferred on the archduke Matthias by his own desire. He is joined by the archduke Maximilian, who, in the name of the emperor, his brother, governs Carinthia and Croatia. These cannot hinder the Turks from taking the town of Javarin.

1595 — Happily for the Imperialists, Sigismund Báthori, vaivode of Transylvania, shakes off the Turkish for the imperial yoke. We often see princes change sides, obliged by the necessity of their affairs to attach themselves to the more powerful of two protectors. Báthori swears fidelity, and does homage to the emperor for Transylvania and some possessions in Hungary. He agrees, that in case he shall die without male issue, his dominions shall devolve to the emperor as king of Hungary, and in return he is promised in marriage to Christina, daughter of the archduke Charles, together with

the title of Most Illustrious and the order of the Golden Fleece.

The campaign was very happy; but the church boxes set up for the payment of the army not being filled, the imperial troops rise and pillage part of that country which they had been destined to defend.

1596 — The archduke Maximilian commands this year against the Turks. The new sultan, Mahomet III., enters Hungary in person and lays siege to Agria, which surrenders upon conditions; but the garrison is massacred going out of the town, and Mahomet, enraged against the aga of the janissaries for having countenanced the perfidy, orders his head to be struck off

Mahomet defeats Maximilian in battle on October 26.

While the emperor Rudolph remains at Vienna, employed in distillation, chemistry, and searching after the philosopher's stone; while his brother Maximilian is beaten by the Turks; while Matthias meditates the founding his own greatness upon the sluggishness of Rudolph, one of his brothers, called Albert, who had obtained a cardinal's cap, and of whom before this time we have heard scarce any mention, is made governor of such part of the Low Countries as remains in the hands of Philip II. He had in this government succeeded the archduke Ernest, another of his brothers, who died after having possessed it upwards of two years, without having done anything remarkable. Very different was

the conduct of Cardinal Albert of Austria, who made war upon Henry IV., with whom Philip II. had been at perpetual variance ever since the death of Henry III. He takes Calais and Andres.

Henry IV., after much difficulty conqueror of the league, seeks the assistance of the Protestant princes, and not obtaining it, he is forced to defend himself.

1597 — The Turks are still in Hungary. There is a rising of the peasants of Austria, harassed by the imperial troops, and thereby they give a helping hand to the desolation of the country. There is a necessity for sending some disciplined troops against them. This was a favorable opportunity for the Turks, but by some strange fatality Upper Hungary was always the boundary of their progress. The imperial army this year owes its safety to a revolt of the janissaries.

1598 — The country of Simeren, by the death of the last incumbent, falls to the elector palatine.

Philip II., king of Spain, dies, aged seventy-two, after a reign of forty-two years. He had long disturbed part of Europe, nor had his uncle Ferdinand, his cousin Maximilian, nor his nephew Rudolph ever forwarded his designs, neither had he in the least contributed to their grandeur. Some time before his death he had given the Low Countries to the Infanta Isabella, his daughter, as a portion in marrying the cardinal archduke Albert. This was depriving his son Philip III. and the crown of Spain

of a most beautiful province. But the troubles which had wasted it for some time had rendered it a burdensome possession; however, it was stipulated that it should revert to the Spanish crown in case of the failure of male issue in the archduke Albert, which happened to be the case.

Driving the Turks out of Upper Hungary begins to be matter of deliberation. The Diet grants towards the support of this war twenty Roman months.

The same Sigismund Báthori, who had renounced the Turkish protection, and done homage to the emperor for Transylvania, repents of his proceedings. The same territories which had belonged to the queen, mother of Stephen John Sigismund — that is to say, Oppeln and Ratisbon in Silesia — were given him in exchange for his sovereignty and for Wallachia. He was as little satisfied with his bargain as that queen had been. He abandons Silesia and re-enters his former dominions, but, always inconstant and weak, he cedes them to a cardinal who was his cousin. This cardinal, by name Andrew Báthori, immediately puts himself under the protection of the Turks, and receives a vest from the sultan as a mark of that favor he solicited. Martinusius-like, he puts himself at the head of an army, but is killed in an engagement against the imperialists.

1599 — By the death of Cardinal Báthori and the flight of Sigismund, Transylvania is left in the hands of the emperor, while Hungary continues to be

wasted by the Turks. Those who are astonished to see at this day such a fertile country so thinly peopled, will find it easily accounted for when they consider the numbers of inhabitants of both sexes which the Turks carried into slavery.

This year the emperor resolves at last to enfranchise Würtemberg from the enfeoffment of Austria. Würtemberg is held only of the empire, but in case the heirs should fail it was always to return to the house of Austria.

1600 — The Turks advance as far as Kanizsa upon the Drave, on the side of Styria. The duke de Mercœur, a famous prince of the house of Lorraine, could not prevent this strong place from being taken. The people of Transylvania and Wallachia refuse to acknowledge the emperor.

1601 — The fortune of Sigismund Báthori is as inconstant as himself. He once more enters Transylvania, but is defeated by the imperial party. These provinces are the seats of continual revolutions. Happily the very same duke de Mercœur, who could neither preserve nor recover Kanizsa from the Turks, takes Alba Regalis.

1602 — At length the archduke Matthias, more active than his brother, and assisted by the duke de Mercœur, makes an incursion as far as Buda, which he besieges to no purpose; all which causes a ruinous war at the expense of the emperor and the empire.

Sigismund Báthori is still more unfortunate.

Spurned by the Turks, who refuse him assistance, he surrenders at discretion to the imperial troops, and this prince, who was to have married an archduchess, is at length even too happy in being a baron in Bohemia, with but an indifferent pension.

1603 — Some unaccountable fatality always puts a stop to the Turkish conquests. Mahomet III., who threatened to command a formidable army against Hungary in person, dies in the flower of his age. Achmet, his son, a youth only 13 years old, is raised to the Ottoman throne. Factions disturb the seraglio, and the war in Hungary dies away.

The Diet of Ratisbon this time promises eighty Roman months. The empire had never before granted so powerful a succor, but, alas! it was furnished in scarcely anything but words.

This year Lübeck, Dantzic, Cologne, Hamburg, and Bremen, the old Hanse towns of Germany, obtain in France those liberties they pretend to have been formerly theirs, but which time had taken from them. The merchants of these towns are exempted from all the right of escheat, and still enjoy the immunity. Events of this nature are not the most remarkable, but they contribute to the public good.

1604 — The emperor nearly loses that part of Upper Hungary which remains to him. This was occasioned by the exactions of a governor of Casoria, who, having extorted money from a Hungarian lord named Botskai, the latter revolted, and his example influences part of the army. He declares

himself lord of Upper Hungary without daring to take the title of king.

1605 — The Turks and the rebel Botskai had taken all Hungary from the emperor, Presburg only excepted. The grand vizier was in the town of Pesth. Botskai causes himself to be proclaimed prince of Transylvania, and receives the crown of Hungary from the hands of the grand vizier, with great solemnity at Pesth. The archduke Matthias is obliged to make an arrangement with the Hungarian lords in order, if possible, to preserve the remainder of that country. It was stipulated that, for the future, the states of Hungary, which had always elected their king, should themselves elect their governor in the name of their king. The nomination to bishoprics was a right invested in the crown, but the states now article that none but Hungarians shall be made bishops, and that such bishops as are named by the emperor shall have no share in the government of the kingdom. Notwithstanding these and some other concessions, the archduke Matthias obtains the cession of Transylvania from Botskai, who also keeps no more of Hungary than the crown of gold which he had received from the grand vizier. The Hungarians expressly article that Lutheranism and Calvinism shall be freely tolerated among them.

Under the weak government of Rudolph, Germany was nevertheless comparatively quiet. The intestine wars that happened in it during that reign were very trivial; such as the duke of Brunswick

endeavoring to subdue the town of Brunswick, and the duke of Bavaria striving to reduce Donauwörth. The duke of Bavaria being rich and powerful, obtains his end at Donauwörth, but the duke of Brunswick could not prevail against Brunswick, which remained a long time a free and imperial town, being supported by the Teutonic Hanse towns. The great trading towns could at that time easily defend themselves against the princes. It is well known that they levied troops only in case of war. These occasional militias of princes and towns were equally bad. But things have worn a very different face since princes have found the way of keeping regular troops always on foot.

Germany was in other respects peaceable, in spite of the three contending religions, in spite of the troubles in Hungary and Transylvania, and the wars in the Low Countries, which incessantly harassed the frontiers. The weakness of Rudolph, in Germany, was of a very different nature from that of Henry III. in France. All the lords under Henry III. would, if possible, have been independent and powerful: they were troublesome in all things; but the German lords were that in reality, at which the French lords aspired.

1606 — The archduke Matthias treats ineffectually with the Turks. So many treaties with the Turks, Hungarians, and Transylvanians were only the seeds of new troubles. The Transylvanians after the death of Botskai, notwithstanding their treaties

with the emperor, choose Sigismund Ragotzky as vaivode, and the emperor permits it.

1607-08 — Rudolph, who had purchased peace so dearly at home, endeavors to restore it to the Low Countries by treaty, which could be done, as formerly had been in Hungary, only at the expense of the Spanish branch of Austria.

The famous Union of Utrecht, dated 1579, was too powerful to be infringed. The states-general of the seven united provinces were to be acknowledged free and independent. The seven united provinces required this authentic acknowledgment chiefly from Spain. Rudolph writes to them thus: "You are states holding of the empire; your constitution cannot alter, without the consent of the emperor, who is your head." The states-general sent no manner of reply to this letter. They continue to treat with Spain, who at length acknowledges their independence in the year 1609.

In the meantime the peaceful and philosophical indifference of Rudolph, which would have sat much better on a private man than an emperor, encouraged the ambition of the archduke Matthias, his brother, who devised making himself sovereign of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia, the government of which was neglected by Rudolph, to whom he intended leaving barely the title of emperor. Hungary was almost entirely overrun by the Turks, and torn in pieces by factions, Austria exposed, and Bohemia discontented. The inconstant Báthori was,

by a new turn of fortune, re-established in Transylvania, restored by the votes of the people, and the protection of the Sultan. Matthias treats with Báthori, with the Turks, and with the malcontents of Hungary. The states of Austria had furnished him with a great deal of money. He was at the head of an army of which he took all imaginable care; the fruits of which he intended to reap.

The emperor learns the designs of his brother at Prague, whither he had retired; has some fears concerning his own safety, and raises a few troops in haste. Matthias, his brother, throws off the mask and marches towards Prague. The Protestants of Bohemia lay hold of this critical time to insist upon new privileges from Rudolph, whom they otherwise threaten to quit. They obtain concessions that the Catholic clergy shall have no concern with civil affairs, nor any acquisition of lands without the consent of the states; that all places of trust shall be disposed of in favor of Protestants. This condescension of the emperor irritates the Catholics, and he finds himself obliged to receive laws from his brother.

On May 11 he cedes Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to Matthias, reserving to himself, in this melancholy bargain, barely the profits without the property of Bohemia, and the sovereignty of Silesia. Thus does he strip himself of all that he had so weakly governed, and which he could no longer keep. In the end his brother acquires only new

embarrassments. He was fain to agree with the Protestants of Austria, who, sword in hand, demanded from their new master a free exercise of their religion, to which he was obliged to consent, at least out of the towns. He was also compelled to make it up with the Hungarians, who insisted that no Germans should bear a public trust among them. Matthias was obliged to deprive the Germans in Hungary of their employments. Thus did he strive to confirm his own power, that he might in time be able to resist that of the Turks.

1609 — The more the Protestant religion gained ground in Austria, the more powerful it became in Germany. The succession of Cleves and Juliers roused to arms the two parties, who had as it were slumbered since the peace of Passau. Hence sprang a Protestant league more dangerous than that of Smalcald, which gave rise to a Catholic one. These two parties were ready to ruin the empire.

The houses of Brandenburg, of Neuburg, of Deux-Ponts, of Saxony, and at last Charles of Austria, marquis of Burgau, dispute about the inheritance of John William, the last duke of Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, who died without children.

The emperor thought to reconcile the different pretenders by sequestering the lands about which they disputed. He sends the archduke Leopold, his cousin, to take possession of the duchy of Cleves, but at length two of the competitors, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Neu-

burg, unite to oppose him. The affair at length produces a quarrel between the Protestant princes and the house of Austria. The princes of Brandenburg and of Neuburg are already in possession, and united by the danger that might ensue from the division of their interest, being backed by Frederick IV., elector palatine, solicit the aid of Henry IV. of France.

At this time was formed the two opposing leagues; the Protestants supporting the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg, the Catholics that of Austria. Frederick IV., elector palatine, although a Calvinist, headed the confederates of the Augsburg confession, which consisted of the duke of Würtemberg, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the margrave of Anspach, the margrave of Baden-Durlach, the prince of Anhalt, and several imperial towns. This party assumed the name of the Evangelic Union.

The chiefs of the Catholic league which opposed this were Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, the Catholic electors, and all the princes of that communion. The elector of Saxony also joined this party, although he was a Lutheran, in hopes of obtaining the investiture of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. The landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, although a Protestant, joined the Catholic league. He had no manner of reason to make this quarrel a quarrel of religion, but religion was a name that each party made use of to animate the people. The Catholic league makes Pope Paul V. and Philip III., king of Spain, join it, and Henry IV. attaches himself to the Evangelic

Union; with this difference, that the pope and the king of Spain lend only their names, while Henry IV. marches into Germany at the head of a victorious, well-disciplined army, which had destroyed one Catholic league already.

1610 — These words of raillery, Catholic, Evangelical, and the name of pope, used in a profane quarrel, were the true and only cause of the assassination of Henry IV., who, it is well known, fell on May 14, in the middle of Paris, the victim of a weak, furious fanatic. It appears undoubtedly, from the examination of Ravaillac, who had been before a friar, that he assassinated Henry IV. because it was everywhere said that he was going to make war against the pope.

All Henry IV.'s great designs perished with him. However, there still remained some master-springs of that great machine which he had set in motion. The Protestant league was not destroyed. Some French troops, under the command of Marshal de la Châtre, support the parties of Brandenburg and Neuburg. In vain does the emperor adjudge Cleves and Juliers by provision to the elector of Saxony in case he proves his right. The Marshal de la Châtre nevertheless takes Juliers, and drives out the forces of the archduke Leopold. Juliers remains for some time in common to Brandenburg and Neuburg.

1611 — The extreme confusion which at this time reigned in Germany plainly shows what Henry IV. might have done had he survived. Rudolph,

the philosopher, remains still at Prague. The archduke Leopold, with his ill-paid army, driven out of Juliers, retire into Bohemia, where he subsists upon plunder. He there usurps all the authority of the emperor, who sees himself plundered on every side by the princes of his own family. Matthias, who had already forced his brother to part with so many dominions, will not, however, let anyone else plunder the chief of his family. He comes to Prague with his troops, and forces his brother to entreat the states to crown him, through excess of fraternal affection.

Matthias is crowned king of Bohemia on May 21, of which place there remains to Rudolph only the title of king, as unprofitable as that of emperor.

1612 — Rudolph dies on January 20, according to the Gregorian calendar. He had never been inclined to marry. His house, the power of which had been so vastly feared, was scarcely held in any estimation in Europe, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and this was occasioned by his carelessness and the weakness of Philip III. in Spain. Rudolph had lost his possessions, but he had saved his money. It is said there were fourteen millions of crowns found in his exchequer. This discovered a meanness of soul. With these fourteen millions and courage, he might have retaken Buda from the Turks and made the empire respectable. But his character adapted him to living like a private man upon the throne, and he was happier than those who plundered and despised him.

MATTHIAS.

FORTY-FIFTH EMPEROR.

1612 — Matthias, the brother of Rudolph, is unanimously elected, and this unanimity astonishes Europe, but he had been enriched by the treasures of his brother, and the near neighborhood of the Turks made it necessary to elect a prince of the house of Austria king of Hungary.

Even to that time, the capitulation of Charles V. had never been augmented: therein there were some articles in favor of Matthias, whose ambition was sufficiently manifest.

Hungary and Transylvania continued still in the same condition. The emperor had some small possessions in the neighborhood of Presburg, and Gabriel Báthori, the new prince of Transylvania, was the sultan's vassal.

1613 — The two great leagues — Catholic and Evangelical — which had once threatened the empire with a civil war, appear to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV. The Protestants barely content themselves with refusing money in the diets to the emperor. The quarrel about the succession of Juliers, which it was once thought would have inflamed all Europe, sinks into one of those particularly trivial wars, which have always, at one time or other, perplexed certain cantons of the empire, without disordering the Germanic body.

The duke of Neuburg and the elector of Brandenburg, being put in possession of Cleves and Juliers, were necessarily embroiled about the division of them; nor did a box on the ear given by the elector of Brandenburg to the duke of Neuburg pacify the difference. These two princes go to war. The duke of Neuburg becomes a Catholic in hope of thereby obtaining the protection of the emperor and the king of Spain. The elector of Brandenburg introduces Calvinism into his territories, hoping thereby to rouse the Protestant league to his assistance.

Meanwhile, the other princes remain inactive; nor does the elector of Saxony himself stir, although there had been an imperial decree in his favor. The Spanish and Dutch Low Countries take part in the quarrel. The marquis de Spinola assists Neuburg on the part of Spain, Count Maurice arms for Brandenburg on the part of the states-general. It is one of the consequences of the German constitution that foreign powers are more interested in their intestine quarrels than Germany itself. The Germanic body was never shaken. Its interior peace had been often disturbed by disputes between town and town, princes and towns, towns and princes; but the Germanic body subsisted by these divisions, which in some measure founded an almost equal balance between its members.

1614 — The case was very different in Hungary and Transylvania. Emperor Matthias prepares to go against the Turks. Gabriel Báthori, vaivode of

Transylvania, endeavors to keep fair as well with the Turkish as Christian emperor. The Turks fall upon Báthori. He is abandoned by his subjects, nor can the emperor assist him. Báthori causes himself to be killed by one of his own soldiers, the only instance we have of such a nature among modern princes. Bethlen-Gabor is invested by a pasha. This province seemed forever lost to the house of Austria. The new sultan, Achmet, master of so great a part of Hungary, and at the same time young and ambitious, began to make it feared that neither Presburg nor Vienna would limit the two empires. These alarms had been frequent in the latter end of the reign of Rudolph; but that prodigious extension of the Ottoman Empire, which had so long given the Christians uneasiness, was the cause of their safety. The Turks were often at war with the Persians. Their frontiers on the Black sea suffered much from the revolting of the Georgians and Mingrelians. The Arabs were with difficulty kept within bounds, and it often happened that the Turks, at the very same time that it was feared they would overrun Hungary and Italy, were obliged to patch up a disadvantageous peace for the defence of their own dominions.

1615 — Emperor Matthias has the happiness of concluding a treaty with Sultan Achmet, much more favorable than a war could possibly have been to him. He stipulates without drawing sword, for the restitution of Agria, Kanizsa, Alba-Regalis, Pesth,

and even Buda. Thus is he in possession of almost all Hungary, leaving Transylvania and Bethlen-Gabor under the Turkish protection. This treaty increases Matthias's power. The affair of the succession of Juliers is almost the only thing that disturbs the interior part of the empire; but Matthias keeps fair with the Protestant princes by leaving this country still divided between the palatines of Neuburg and of Brandenburg. Prudence of this sort was extremely necessary to continue the empire in the house of Austria.

1616 — Negotiations and intrigues engross this and the following years. Matthias was childless, and had also lost his health and his activity. In order to preserve the empire in his family, it was necessary to secure Bohemia and Hungary. These conjunctures were delicate; the states of these two kingdoms were jealous of the rights of election: the spirit of party was predominant among them, but much more the spirit of independence: the difference of religions nourished discord, but the Protestants and Catholics were equally fond of their privileges. The princes of Germany were little disposed to choose an Austrian emperor; and the Evangelical Union, which still existed, left this house but small hopes.

The first step to be taken was to secure the succession of Bohemia and Hungary. Matthias had forced these two kingdoms from his brother and was not at all inclined that his inheritance should

pass to his remaining brothers, Maximilian and Albert. There is not the least gleam of their both having cordially renounced their rights. Albert, to whom the king of Spain had left the Low Countries, would have certainly been more able than another to support the imperial dignity, had he reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. Matthias intended that these crowns should descend to his cousin, Ferdinand of Gratz, duke of Styria. Right of consanguinity was but little consulted.

1617 — Ferdinand is acknowledged and elected by the states of Bohemia as successor to Matthias, according to which rank he is crowned king on June 29. The Evangelical League begins to be frightened at seeing this first approach of Ferdinand of Gratz towards the empire. Matthias and Ferdinand make the elector of Saxony, who does not belong to the Evangelical League, more useful than ever. He, hoping to have Cleves, Berg, and Juliers, sides in everything with the house of Austria; the palatine, having very different interests, continues still at the head of the Protestants. This is the origin of that unhappy war between Ferdinand and the palatine which ensued. This was that war of thirty years' continuance which desolated so many provinces, brought the Swedes into Germany, and at length produced the treaty of Westphalia, whereby the empire assumed a new face.

1618 — Matthias engages the Spanish branch of Austria to renounce all the pretensions which it could

possibly have upon Hungary and Bohemia. Philip III., king of Spain, gives up his rights to these kingdoms in favor of Ferdinand, conditionally that in case of Ferdinand's dying without male issue, Hungary and Bohemia shall descend to his sons or daughters, or to the children of his daughters, in the order of birthright. By this bargain these dominions might easily have fallen to France; for had a daughter of Philip III. inherited these kingdoms and married a king of France, the eldest son of this king would have been entitled to Hungary and Bohemia.

This family contract was evidently contrary to the will of Emperor Ferdinand I. The dispositions that men make for establishing the peace of futurity are too often preparatives of discord. In fine, this new treaty causes the revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians, who see themselves disposed of without being consulted. The Protestants of Bohemia begin to associate after the example of the Evangelical Union. The Catholics were soon induced to join this party, since their civil rights had been infringed, independent of religion. Silesia, that great fief of Bohemia, joins it. A civil war is kindled. The confederates are headed by Count von Thurn, otherwise de la Tour, a man of genius, who makes war regularly and advantageously; and they make progress even to the gates of Vienna.

1619 — In the midst of this revolution, about the month of March, the emperor Matthias dies, without being at all able to foresee the destiny of his house.

His cousin, Ferdinand of Gratz, was at length happy enough not to find any great opposition in Hungary, whence he had driven out the Turks by a treaty that made him very agreeable to that kingdom; but he beholds Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia leagued against him, the Protestants of Austria ready to revolt, and those of Germany not at all disposed to raise him to the empire. The house of Austria had never seen a moment more critical. Four electors, on the one hand, offer the imperial crown to Maximilian, duke of Bavaria; the sovereignty of Bohemia, on the other, is offered to the duke of Savoy, who being at too great a distance to obtain it, it is unfortunately accepted by the elector palatine, Frederick V. In the meantime there is a meeting at Frankfort for the election of a king of the Romans, a king of Germany, and an emperor. Almost all the courts of Europe are attentive to this material point; the states of Bohemia order their deputies at Frankfort to exclude Ferdinand from the right of voting. They refuse to acknowledge him for king, and consequently intend to deprive him of his vote. He was not only threatened to be excluded from the imperial, but even from the electoral dignity. He obtained both the one and the other. He not only gave his vote for the empire, but both Protestants and Catholics joined to give him theirs. Each elector was influenced in such a manner that he imagined the elevation of Ferdinand of Gratz to be to his particular interest; even the elector

palatine, to whom the states of Bohemia had given their crown, was obliged to vote for him; which, had he refused, would have been to no purpose. This election was made on Aug. 19, 1619. He is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on September 19; before which he signs a more extensive capitulation than any of his predecessors had done.

FERDINAND II.

FORTY-SIXTH EMPEROR.

1619 — At the same time that Ferdinand II. is vested with the imperial dignity, the states of Bohemia name the elector palatine for king. This honor was now much more dangerous than it had formerly been on account of Ferdinand's being chosen emperor. This was a very critical time for the Protestants. Had Frederick been assisted by his father-in-law, James I., king of England, he had been sure of success. James I. helped him only with advice, and this advice was to refuse the crown. He pays no respect to it, but gives way to his fortune.

Frederick is solemnly crowned at Prague, November 4, with the princess of England, his wife; but the ceremony is performed by the minister of the Hussites, and not by the archbishop of Prague.

This gives rise to a war, as well religious as political. All the Protestant princes, the elector of Saxony excepted, declare for Frederick. He had a few

English troops in his army, sent him by some of the English nobility, either through personal friendship for him, and hatred of the Catholic religion, or from the glory of doing more than his father-in-law, the king. He was seconded by the vaivode of Transylvania, Bethlen-Gabor, who attacked the same enemy in Hungary. Gabor penetrates even to the gates of Vienna, and thence goes back the same road to take Presburg. Silesia revolts against the emperor. The elector palatine's party in Bohemia are supported by the count of Mansfeld; even the Protestants of Austria are troublesome to the emperor. If the house of Bavaria, like that of Austria, had been always united, the new king of Bohemia would have had much the stronger party; but, though the duke of Bavaria was both rich and powerful, he was far from contributing to the grandeur of the elder branch of his house. Jealousy, ambition, and religion attached him to the emperor; so that what had been the fate of the house of Saxony under Charles V. was the same as that of Bavaria under Ferdinand of Gratz.

The Protestant and Catholic leagues were a little after almost equally powerful in Germany; but Spain and Italy favor Ferdinand, furnishing him with troops as well as with money levied upon the clergy. France had forgotten her old interests, and was not yet governed by a cardinal Richelieu. The court of Louis XIII., weak and confused, seemed to have views — if we would suppose it to have

any — very different from the designs of Henry the Great.

1620 — Louis XIII., instead of marching with an army, sends the duke of Angoulême, at the head of a solemn embassy, to offer his mediation. The princes assembled at Ulm listen to him, but conclude on nothing. The war in Bohemia continuing, Bethlen-Gabor causes himself to be acknowledged king in Hungary, as Frederick V. had been in Bohemia. This revolution of the states of Hungary was countenanced by a Turkish and a Venetian ambassador in the town of Neuhäusel. It is unusual to see the Turks and Venetians thus united; but Venice was so entirely at variance with the Spanish branch of Austria that she openly declared herself against all of that house.

All Europe took part in this quarrel; but much rather by words than by actions. The emperor is much better seconded in Germany than the elector palatine.

On the one hand, the elector of Saxony, who had declared for the emperor, enters Lusatia; on the other, the duke of Bavaria marches into Bohemia, with a powerful army; whilst the emperor's forces make a shift to hold out in Hungary against Bethlen-Gabor.

The palatine is at one and the same time attacked, both in his new kingdom of Bohemia and in his electorate, where Henry Frederick of Nassau, the brother of, and afterwards successor to, Maurice,

the stadtholder of the United Provinces, fights for him, where he has also some English; but against him are the choicest troops of the Spanish Low Countries, under the command of the famous Spinola. The palatinate is ravaged. A battle in Bohemia decides the fate of Austria and the elector palatine. On November 19, Frederick is entirely defeated near Prague by his relative, Maximilian of Bavaria. He at length takes refuge in Silesia with his wife and two of his children, and loses in one day all his dominions, both hereditary and acquired.

1621 — James, king of England, mediates in favor of his unfortunate kinsman, with as little success as had attended the latter's efforts in war.

By a decree of the aulic council, dated January 20, the emperor puts the elector palatine under the ban of the empire. He banishes the duke of Jägerndorf into Silesia, also the prince of Anhalt, the counts of Hohenlohe, of Mansfeld, de la Tour, and all those who had taken arms in favor of Frederick.

This vanquished prince finds some intercessors, but not one avenger. The king of Denmark endeavors to persuade the emperor to clemency, notwithstanding which Ferdinand causes many of the Bohemian gentry to fall, by the hands of the common executioner.

Count de Buquoy, one of his generals, completes the reduction of the rebels that remain in Bohemia, after which he hastens to secure Upper Hungary against Bethlen-Gabor. Buquoy is killed in this

campaign, and Ferdinand soon enters into an agreement with the Transylvanian, to whom he yields up a large territory, that he may be able the better to secure the rest. In the meantime the elector palatine flies from Silesia to Denmark, and from Denmark to Holland. The duke of Bavaria seizes the upper palatinate, and a body of Spanish troops, furnished by the archduke, governor of the Low Countries, pours into the palatinate, under the command of the marquis de Spinola.

All the assistance which the elector palatine could obtain from his father-in-law, king James, or from the king of Denmark, was good offices and useless embassies to Vienna. From France, to whose interest it was to take his part, he had no assistance. At length his only resource lay in two men, who ought naturally to have abandoned him. These were the duke of Jägerndorf in Silesia, and the count of Mansfeld in the palatine; both of them banished by the emperor, whose favor they might have obtained by quitting the party of Frederick. Incredible are their efforts in his behalf. Mansfeld particularly still headed a little army, which he kept together in spite of the Austrian power, and which had no other pay than the art of Mansfeld supplied them with, who made war like a very partisan; the art of doing which was quite well known in those times, wherein it was rare to see very large armies subsisting for a long time, and wherein a resolute leader might maintain himself for some time under the favor of intes-

tine troubles. Mansfeld rouses and encourages the neighboring Protestant princes.

Particularly a prince of Brunswick named Christian, the administrator, but in truth the usurper of the house of Halberstadt, joins Mansfeld. This Christian entitled himself the Friend of God, and the Enemy of the Priests; nor was he less an enemy to the people, whose estates he ravaged. Mansfeld and he did a great deal of mischief to the country without being of the least service to the palatine.

The prince of Orange, and the United Provinces, who were at war with the Spaniards in the Low Countries, being obliged to turn all their force against them, were not able to afford the palatine any effectual assistance. His party was crushed; notwithstanding which, it was from time to time able to make some considerable opposition, and upon the slightest occasion, some Protestant prince was found ready to arm in its favor. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had a dispute about some land with the landgrave of Darmstadt, and being piqued against the emperor, who favored his competitor, he supported as much as possible the elector palatine. The margrave of Baden-Durlach joined Mansfeld, and all the Protestant princes in general, fearing that they should soon be forced to make restitution of the ecclesiastical possessions, appear disposed to take arms: whence he has hopes of being seconded by some powers.

1622 — It is the duke of Bavaria's lot again to

contribute to the happiness of Ferdinand. His generals and his troops complete the ruin of the palatine, his cousin's party. Tilly, the Bavarian general, afterwards one of the emperor's best generals, totally defeats, near Aschaffenburg, the prince of Brunswick, surnamed very properly, "The Enemy of the Priests," who was returning from plundering the abbey of Fulda, and all the ecclesiastical states of that part of Germany.

Mansfeld was the only person left who could defend the palatinate, and he was capable of doing it, being at the head of a small army, which joined with the remainder of Brunswick's forces, amounted to about ten thousand men. Mansfeld was a very extraordinary man. He was bastard to a count of that name; he had no fortune but his courage and abilities, but was privately assisted by the prince of Orange and the Protestants, and found himself general of an army, which was entirely his own.

The unhappy palatine was weak enough, being very ill advised, to renounce his succor, in hope that he might obtain from the emperor favorable conditions, which it was impossible to do without force. He himself obliged Mansfeld and Brunswick to abandon him. These two wandering chiefs pass into Lorraine and Alsace, and search out new countries to ravage. All the arrangement that Ferdinand II. now makes with the elector palatine is to send the victorious Tilly to take Heidelberg, Mannheim, and the rest of the country; in short, all that belongs to

the elector is looked upon as the forfeiture of an exile. He had the most extensive and the best-chosen library in Germany, particularly of manuscripts; these were sent to the duke of Bavaria, who transported them by water to Rome; but most of the cargo was lost by shipwreck, and the remainder is still preserved in the Vatican. Religion and the love of liberty always occasion some troubles in Bohemia; but they are such seditions as to be ended by punishment. The emperor banishes the Lutheran ministers from Prague, and shuts up their churches. He gives the administration of the university of Prague to the Jesuits. There is nothing could now interrupt the prosperity of the emperor but Hungary. He fully confirms the peace with Bethlen-Gabor, acknowledging him sovereign of Transylvania, and ceding to him seven countries, containing fifty leagues, bordering upon the frontiers of his territories. The rest of Hungary, which had long been an uninterrupted scene of destructive war, was at present of not the least service to the house of Austria, except that it still continued to be the bulwark of the Austrian states.

1623 — The emperor, being established in Germany, assembles a diet at Ratisbon, in which he declares that the elector palatine being guilty of high treason, had forfeited his estates, dignities, and possessions to the imperial crown: but that not inclining to lessen the number of electors, he wills, commands, and appoints, that Maximilian, duke of

Bavaria, be in this diet invested with the palatinate. This was speaking like a master. The Catholic princes in everything give way to the emperor's will. The Protestants make some public remonstrances. The elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick, Holstein, and Mecklenburg, together with the towns of Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, and others, renew the Evangelical League. They are joined by the king of Denmark; but this league being only defensive, left the emperor at full liberty to act as he pleased.

On February 25, Ferdinand, upon his throne, invests the duke of Bavaria with the palatinate, the vice-chancellor saying in these words expressly: "the emperor out of the fulness of his power confers on him this dignity."

The territories of the elector palatine were not by this investiture given to the duke of Bavaria. This was an important article, which gave rise to many great difficulties.

John George of Hohenzollern, the eldest of the house of Brandenburg, is in this Diet made a prince of the empire. Brunswick, the enemy of the priests, and the famous general, Mansfeld, secretly supported by the Protestant princes, make their appearance again in Germany. Brunswick establishes himself in Lower Saxony, and afterwards in Westphalia. Count of Tilly vanquishes and disperses his army. Mansfeld still remains immovable and invincible. This was the only support which now remained

to the palatine, a support that could not restore him to his dominions.

1624 — The Protestant league still concealed a flame, which was ready to break out against the emperor. James I., king of England, not being able to obtain anything by negotiation in favor of his son-in-law, joins the league in Lower Saxony, of which Christian IV., king of Denmark, was declared chief; but this was not the chief who was yet to make head against the fortune of Ferdinand II.

The king of England furnishes money, Christian IV., king of Denmark, finds troops. The famous Mansfeld increases his little army, and they prepare for war.

1625 — At length the king of England having resolved efficaciously to support his kinsman, and to declare against the house of Austria, deprives his confederates of the powerful assistance he might have given them, by dying in the month of March.

It was but part of the Evangelical union that had raised the standard. Lower Saxony was the seat of war.

1626 — The emperor's two great generals, Tilly and Wallenstein, stop the progress of the king of Denmark and his confederates. Tilly defeats the king of Denmark in a pitched battle near Northeim, in the Brunswick territories. This victory seems to deprive the palatine of every resource. Mansfeld,

who never lost his courage, transplants the war, and goes by Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia, to attack the emperor in Hungary. Bethlen-Gabor, with whom the emperor had not kept all his engagements, takes up arms and joins Mansfeld with ten thousand men. He armed the Turks, who were still masters of Buda; but this great and bold project is dissipated, without costing Ferdinand much trouble. Mansfeld's army is destroyed by distempers: he dies himself of the contagion, in the flower of his age, exhorting the remainder of his soldiers, even in the hour of death, to sacrifice their lives for the Germanic liberty.

A prince of Brunswick, the other support of the elector palatine, died some short time before. That fortune which deprived the palatine of every hope, befriended Ferdinand in all things. He procures his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be elected king of Hungary. In vain would Bethlen-Gabor maintain his rights to that kingdom; the Turks could give him no assistance, as it was during the minority of Amurath IV. In truth he ravaged Styria; but Wallenstein repulsed him, as he had repulsed the Danes. At length the emperor, as happy in his ministers as in his generals, controls Bethlen-Gabor by a treaty, in which Transylvania and the seven adjacent counties remain to him during life, after which the whole is to fall to the house of Austria.

1627 — Everything succeeds with Ferdinand, without his taking any other steps than wishing or

commanding. Count Tilly pursues the king of Denmark and his confederates. That king retires to his own dominions. The dukes of Holstein and of Brunswick are disarmed almost as soon as armed. The elector of Brandenburg, who was the only person that allowed his subjects to enlist in the service of Denmark, recalls them, and breaks the treaty. The count of Tilly, and Wallenstein, now become duke of Friedland, permit their victorious troops to live everywhere at discretion.

Ferdinand, uniting the interests of religion and politics, intends taking the bishopric of Halberstadt from the house of Brunswick, and the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen out of the hands of Saxony, in order to confer them, together with several abbeys, on one of his sons. He had caused his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be elected king of Hungary, and had him crowned king of Bohemia without any election; for the Hungarians, neighbors of the Turks and of Bethlen-Gabor, were to be soothed; but Bohemia was looked upon as conquered.

1628 — Ferdinand at length enjoys absolute authority. The Protestant princes and Christian IV., king of Denmark, address themselves secretly to the French ministry, because Cardinal de Richelieu began to be extremely respectable all over Europe. They with reason flatter themselves that the cardinal, who wanted to crush the Protestants in France, would support them in Germany. Cardinal Richelieu causes money to be sent to the king of Denmark,

and encourages the Protestant princes. The Danes march towards the Elbe; but the Protestant league, affrighted, dares not openly declare itself against the emperor; nor is his happiness as yet interrupted. He proscribes the duke of Mecklenburg, whom the Danes had obliged to declare for them, and gives his duchy to Wallenstein.

1629 — The king of Denmark, always unfortunate, is obliged to make peace in the month of June. Never had Ferdinand more power, nor did he make a better use of it.

Christian IV., who had a dispute with the duke of Holstein, ravages the duchy of Schleswig with his troops, which no longer serve against Ferdinand. The court of Vienna sends him admonitory letters, as to a member of the empire, requiring him to evacuate Schleswig. The king of Denmark answers that this duchy never was an imperial fief, like that of Holstein. The court of Vienna replies that the kingdom of Denmark itself was a fief of the empire. The king is at length obliged to conform to the emperor's will. It was scarcely possible for the pretensions of the empire upon the North to be supported with more dignity.

The empire, ever since the time of Charles V., had till now appeared entirely detached from Italy. The death of the duke of Mantua, marquis of Montferrat, revived the rights which they had formerly exerted. This duke of Mantua, called Vincent II., died without issue. His kinsman, Charles de Gon-

zaga, duke de Nevers, claims the succession in virtue of some matrimonial contracts. His relative, Cæsar Gonzaga, duke de Guastalla, had received the eventual investiture of it from the emperor.

The duke of Savoy, a third pretender, would have excluded the two others, and the king of Spain would have excluded all three. The duke of Nevers was already in possession, and had caused himself to be acknowledged duke of Mantua; but the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy unite to seize on all they could conveniently in Montferrat.

The emperor, for the first time, exerts his authority in Italy: he sends Count Nassau as an imperial commissary to put in sequestration Mantua and Montferrat while the process is adjudged at Vienna.

Proceedings of this sort had not been heard of in Italy these sixty years. It was very visible that the emperor intended at one and the same time to support the ancient rights of the empire, and to enrich the Spanish branch of Austria with these spoils. The ministry of France, who watched every opportunity of limiting the Austrian power, assists the duke of Mantua. It had already intermeddled with the affairs of the Valtelline, and hindered the Spanish branch of Austria from seizing upon that country, whereby a communication might have been opened between Tyrol and the Milanese, and the two branches of Austria rejoined by the Alps, as they were already on the Rhine by the Low Coun-

tries. With these views Cardinal de Richelieu sided with the duke of Mantua.

The Venetians, who were the nearest and most exposed, send into Mantua an army of fifteen thousand men. The emperor declares all such vassals of the empire in Italy as take part with the duke to be rebels. Pope Urban VIII. is obliged to favor these decrees. The popedom was at that time dependent on the house of Áustria, and Ferdinand, who saw himself by the imperial dignity at the head of that house, was looked upon to be the most powerful prince in Europe.

The German troops, assisted by some Spanish regiments, take Mantua by assault, and the town is delivered up to be pillaged.

Ferdinand, everywhere successful, imagines at length the time was come to make the imperial dignity despotic and the Catholic religion universal. He orders, by edict of his council, that the Protestants should restore all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had stood possessed since the time of the treaty of Passau, signed by Charles V. This was giving the greatest blow to the Protestant party; for the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Lebus, Camin, Havelberg, Lübeck, Meissen, Naumburg, Merseburg, Schwerin, Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, and a crowd of benefices, must now be given up. There was not one prince, either Lutheran or Calvinist,

who did not stand possessed of some ecclesiastical substance.

The Protestants have now no longer any measures to keep. The elector of Saxony whom the hope of one day possessing Cleves and Juliers had so long restrained, at length breaks out. These hopes had been weakened, inasmuch as the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Neuburg were agreed among themselves, Cleves being peaceably enjoyed by the first, and Juliers by the second, without any disturbance from the emperor. Thus the duke of Saxony sees these provinces lost to him, and Magdeburg, with the revenue of several bishoprics, going to be taken from him.

The emperor had at this time near one hundred and fifty thousand men in arms: the Catholic league had about thirty thousand. The two houses of Austria were closely united. The pope and all the Catholic states encourage the emperor in his project. France dared not as yet openly cross him; nor was there any power in Europe that seemed in a condition to oppose him. The duke of Wallenstein, at the head of a powerful army, began to put in execution the emperor's edict in Suabia and the duchy of Würtemberg; but the Catholic churches gained very little by these restitutions. Much was taken from the Protestants; the officers of Wallenstein were enriched, and the troops lived at the expense of both parties, who equally complained.

1630 — Ferdinand sees himself exactly in the

same circumstances that Charles V. had been at the league of Smalcald. All the princes of the empire were either to submit or he was to be overcome. The elector of Saxony now repents that he had assisted in oppressing the palatine; and it was he who, conjointly with other Protestant princes, secretly engaged Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to come into Germany, in lieu of the king of Denmark, whose assistance had been so very useless.

The elector of Bavaria was never more attached to the emperor than now. He had always a mind to command the imperial armies, thereby to keep the emperor as it were dependent upon him. In fine, he aspires to being chosen king of the Romans, and treats secretly with France, while Protestants call in the king of Sweden.

Ferdinand assembles a diet at Ratisbon. His design was to have his son, Ferdinand Ernest, elected king of the Romans: he also designed to engage the empire to second him against Gustavus Adolphus, in case that king should enter Germany; and against France, should it continue to protect the duke of Mantua in opposition to him; but, in spite of all his power, he finds the electors so little inclined to serve him, that he dares not even propose the election of his son.

The electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg were not personally present at this assembly, but their grievances were made known by their deputies. The

elector of Bavaria was the first to say that "it was impossible to deliberate freely in a diet, so long as the emperor had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men on foot." The ecclesiastical electors and bishops who were present pressed the restitution of the ecclesiastical effects. This project could not be put into execution without the support of an army, and the army could not be supported but at the expense of the empire, which grumbled at it. The elector of Bavaria, who wanted to command it, insists upon Ferdinand's dismissing the duke Wallenstein. Ferdinand might have assumed the command himself, and by so doing deprived the elector of Bavaria of all pretext. But he does not take so glorious a step. He deprives Wallenstein of the command and gives it to Tilly; by these means entirely losing the Bavarian. In short, he has soldiers, but no friends.

The power of Ferdinand, which made the states of Germany fear their approaching loss, gives uneasiness to France, Venice, and even to the pope. Cardinal Richelieu now treats with the emperor about Mantua; but he breaks the treaty, when informed that Gustavus Adolphus prepares to enter Germany. He then negotiates with that monarch: England and the United Provinces do the same. The elector palatine, who a little before had been forsaken by all the world, finds himself suddenly on the point of being assisted by all these powers. The king of

Denmark, weakened by his preceding losses, and jealous of the king of Sweden, remains inactive.

Gustavus at length quits Sweden on June 13, embarking with thirty thousand men; he lands in Pomerania; he already claims this province, either in the whole or in part, to reward his expedition. The duke of Pomerania, who now reigned, had no children: his dominions, by the law of consanguinity, should have devolved to the elector of Brandenburg. Gustavus stipulates that, on the death of this duke, he is to hold the province in sequestration, until he shall be reimbursed the expenses of the war.

1631 — Cardinal de Richelieu does not conclude the alliance between France and Gustavus until that king's arrival in Pomerania, which only costs France three hundred thousand livres, paid down, and one million two hundred thousand livres a year. This was one of the most ingenious treaties which had ever been made. A neutrality for the elector of Bavaria, who might have been the greatest support of the emperor, was therein stipulated, as also that of the princes of the Catholic league, who were not to assist the emperor against the Swedes; and care was taken at the same time to make Gustavus promise to preserve all the rights of the Roman Church in every place where he should find that religion existing. By these means, the making this a war of religion was avoided, and the Catholics of Germany themselves were furnished with a specious

pretext for not assisting the emperor. This league was signed at Brandenburg, January 23.

The Protestant states gained new courage. They assemble at Leipsic, where they resolve to present their most humble remonstrances to Ferdinand, and to support their petition with forty thousand men for the establishment of peace in the empire. Gustavus still augments his army as he advances: he comes to Frankfort upon the Oder, yet cannot prevent General Tilly from taking Magdeburg by assault on May 20. The town is reduced to ashes: the inhabitants are destroyed by fire and sword; a horrible event! but now almost swallowed up in the crowd of calamities which perplexed these times. Tilly, being master of the Elbe, imagines he shall be able to prevent the king of Sweden from advancing any farther.

The emperor at length having accommodated all differences with France on account of the duke of Mantua, recalls his troops from Italy; the superiority was still entirely on his side. The elector of Saxony, who had been the first to call in Gustavus Adolphus, is at this time extremely embarrassed; and the elector of Brandenburg, finding himself equally in power to the imperial and Swedish armies, continues very irresolute.

Gustavus obliges the elector of Brandenburg to join him, sword in hand: the elector George William delivers to him the fortress of Spandau, during the whole time of the war; secures all the passes

for him, and allows him to recruit in Brandenburg, pleading to the emperor, with whom he keeps fair, constraint, as an excuse for his conduct.

The elector of Saxony gives the command of his own troops to Gustavus. The king of Sweden advances towards Leipsic. Tilly arrives before him, and the elector of Saxony within a league of the town. Each of their armies consisted of about thirty thousand fighting men. The Saxon troops, having been newly levied, make no manner of resistance, and the elector of Saxony is forced to share their flight. This misfortune is repaired by the Swedish discipline. Gustavus begins to make war in a new manner. He had accustomed his army to order and to a sort of exercise that never had been known before, in consequence of which Tilly, though looked upon to be one of the best generals in Europe, was completely overthrown in a pitched battle fought on September 17.

The conqueror pursues the Imperialists into Franconia: all places submit to him from the Elbe to the Rhine, while the elector of Saxony retires into Bohemia and Silesia. Gustavus suddenly re-establishes the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions, to the surprise of Germany; and, after taking Mentz, hastens into the palatinate.

The deposed elector palatine searches out his protector in order to fight in his army. The Swedes penetrate as far as Alsace. The elector of Saxony, on his side, makes himself master of the capital of

Bohemia, and conquers Lusatia. All the Protestant party is in arms in Germany, and reaps the advantages of Gustavus's victories. Tilly with the remains of his army continues in Westphalia, where he is reinforced by some troops from the duke of Lorraine; but he takes no step towards opposing such rapid progress.

The emperor, fallen in less than a year from that height of grandeur in which he had appeared so formidable, is obliged at last to restore the command of his troops to that duke of Wallenstein whom he had deprived of it, with a more absolute power than ever had been given to any general. Wallenstein accepts the charge; and there are only a few troops left to Tilly, to enable him at least to act on the defensive. The protection which the king of Sweden gave to the elector palatine, in truth made the elector of Bavaria join the emperor, and he approaches Ferdinand in these critical times, rather like a prince with whom he would choose to keep fair, than a friend whom he came to assist.

The emperor had no longer wherewith to maintain those numerous armies that had rendered him so formidable. They had, before the battle of Leipsic, subsisted at the expense of the Catholic and Protestant states, since which time they were deprived of these resources. To form, to recruit, and to keep the army on foot as well as possible, all lay upon Wallenstein.

Ferdinand is at this time reduced to ask both

men and money from Pope Urban VIII. and they are both refused him. He endeavored to engage the court of Rome to publish a crusade against Gustavus, and his holiness promises a jubilee instead of a crusade.

[Supplementary pages are appended to the volume, "The War of 1741."]

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